

# TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 22 PM 1341

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO  
**11502**

	FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL	
O. 11652:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC <b>PRIORITY</b>		
TAGS:	<b>11502</b>		
SUBJECT:	CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN		
ACTION:	E.O. 11652: XGDS-4		
	TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PINS, IR		
	SUBJECT: ALI AMINI MOVES		
POL-3	1. BOSTON GLOBE'S STEVE ERLANGER (PROTECT) IN CONVERSATION WITH		
AMB	EMBOFF SAID FORMER PRIME MINISTER ALI AMINI TOLD HIM NOV 20		
DCM	THAT OPPOSITION WAS COMING TO AGREEMENT ON COALITION GOVERNMENT.		
ECON2	WITHOUT NAMING INDIVIDUAL, AMINI SAID CANDIDATE PRIME MINISTER		
PM	HAD BEEN CHOSEN WHO HAD BEEN OUT OF POLITICS FOR 15 YEARS		
USICA	BUT WAS A RESPECTED INDIVIDUAL WITH CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE.		
OR	AMINI SAID HE WAS MEETING WITH BAZAARIS NOV 23 TO DISCUSS		
CRU	SUPPORT FOR SUCH A COALITION GOVERNMENT. IDEA INCLUDED CON-		
SHIR	CURRENT NAMING OF ADVISORY COUNCIL TO SHAH WHICH WOULD CONSIST		
TABR	OF OLDER OPPOSITION LEADERS, LEAVING ROOM IN PROPOSED CABINET		
ISFA	FOR YOUNGER, MORE DYNAMIC OPPOSITIONISTS AS WELL AS SOME		
	INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD SERVED AS UNDERSECRETARIES IN MINISTRIES.		
	AMINI WOULD NAME NO NAMES.		
	2. IN COURSE OF TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION, AMINI SAID SHAH MUST		
DRAFTED BY:	POL:JDStempel:lab	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT. CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
CLEARANCES:	POL:GBLambrakis	11-22-78	DCM: CWN:as

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CLASSIFICATION

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OPTIONAL FORM 152(H)  
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MRN

STAY, NOT ONLY BECAUSE HE IS NATIONAL LEADER, BUT  
BECAUSE "ARMY WOULD FALL APART" IF HE LEFT. ERLANDER  
ADDED THAT HIS OWN MEETINGS WITH A FEW SELECTED MIDDLE-  
GRADE OFFICERS TO WHOM HE HAD BEEN INTRODUCED THROUGH  
FRIENDS CONFIRMED FACT THAT ARMY WAS BASICALLY LOYAL TO  
SHAH. IF HE WENT, HOWEVER, JUNIOR OFFICERS WOULD NOT  
NECESSARILY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO LINE UP WITH THEIR  
~~SENIORS~~  
SENATORS. (COMMENT: WHILE EMBASSY DOES NOT AGREE WITH  
AMINI STATEMENT THAT ARMY WOULD "FALL APART" BASIC  
LOYALTY OF SENIOR OFFICERS REMAINS WITH SHAH, AND ANY  
SCENARIO WHICH PUT HIM IN SERIOUS TROUBLE WOULD SIGNIFI-  
CANTLY INCREASE INTERNAL STRESSES AMONG IRANIAN  
MILITARY.)

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM 152  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January  
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50152-201

SECRET

73 Nov 78 2:38Z

**ACTION**

NNNNVY ESB079BRA447  
OO RUQMRH  
DE RUEHC #6190 3270320  
ZNY SSSSS ZZH  
O 230106Z NOV 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3652  
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 9986  
RUQMEM/AMEMBASSY HEARTOUM IMMEDIATE 9989  
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3563  
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7307  
RUTALS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3331  
RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4085  
RUSBRK/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6586  
RUFHOLD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4221  
RUQMPL/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9257  
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE  
BT  
S E C R E T STATE 296190

STUTTGART FOR ELG, KUWAIT PASS BRAZEL PASS BLUMENTHAL

E.O. 11652: CDS

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO 22, 11/22/78  
ALL ADDRES TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION  
1. OIL PRODUCTION INCREASED NEARLY ONE MILLION BARRELS TO  
ABOUT 5.2 MILLION BARRELS, OF WHICH 4.5 MILLION BARRELS  
WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR EXPORT. A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL IN-  
CREASE IS EXPECTED TOMORROW, WHICH WILL BRING PRODUCTION  
ALMOST BACK TO NORMAL LEVELS. A TENTATIVE LABOR TRUCE  
WOULD THUS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED, AT THE COST OF  
MAJOR ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS PROMISED.

2. MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER GENERAL LAM  
RECEIVED MAJLIS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE 191 TO 27, 8 NOV  
VOTING AFTER TWO DAYS OF DEBATE. LAMARI MADE LONG  
SPEECH TAKING SAME CONCILIATORY LINE AS HIS SPEECH  
AFTER TAKING OFFICE, UNDERSCORING OPPOSITION  
COME SO LONG AS THEY ACT WITHIN CONSTITUTION, AND  
WORD FOR MAINTAIN THE SHAH ON THE THRONE.

GROUP OF BAZAI MEMBERS MET EMBASSY  
AND HAD AT IMPERIAL FROM AMEMBASSY  
SEEK A SEPARATE SOLUTION, INCLUDING

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THE CONSTITUTION. THESE BAZAARIS CLAIM THEY ARE  
AND TO PRESS KHOMEINI ON THIS OUTCOME.

A COMMUNICATION FROM KHOMEINI CALLS FOR MASS SUPPORT  
FOR THE STRIKING OIL WORKERS. THIS INDICATION THAT OIL  
WILL NOT BE OVER HAS LED TEHRANIS TO DESCEND ON GAS  
STATIONS TO STOCK UP.

CONSULATE SHIRAZ REPORTS THAT NOVEMBER 19 SHOOTING  
INCIDENT, ALTHOUGH RECEIVING INTERNATIONAL PRESS COVERAGE,  
IS MUCH EXAGGERATED WITH NUMBER DEAD PERHAPS TEN PERCENT  
OF OPPOSITION CLAIM OF 200. WHATEVER THE FACTS, INCIDENT  
WILL PROBABLY BECOME THE JALEH SQUARE OF SHIRAZ. MONDAY  
AND TUESDAY THE BAZAAR AND HALF OTHER CITY SHOPS WERE  
CLOSED, AND TODAY VIRTUALLY ALL OF SHIRAZ IS CLOSED IN  
PROTEST.

TELEPHONE AND TELEX FACILITIES ARE FUNCTIONING AT  
FULL FRACTION OF CAPACITY BECAUSE OF STRIKE INTERRUPTIONS.  
IS NOT CLEAR THIS INTERRUPTION IS DELIBERATE SINCE  
OF MAINTENANCE INEVITABLY INVOLVED. RUMORS THAT  
OUTAGES ARE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED SEEM TO BE TRUE.

THERE WILL BE NO SITUATION REPORT TOMORROW (THANKS-  
UNLESS EVENTS WARRANT. AS THIS CABLE IS DRAFTED,  
AND PRESS REPORTS OF SERIOUS FIGHTING IN THE TEHRAN  
VANCE

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# TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 25 AM 9 27

INDICATE  
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11520

FROM	AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION	SECRET
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O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

11520

SECRET TEHRAN

ACTION:

LIMDIS

LINDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETINGS WITH SHARIF-EMAMI AND ALI-AMINI

1. I MET SEPARATELY AND CONSECUTIVELY AFTERNOON NOVEMBER  
24 WITH EX-PRIME MINISTERS SHARIF-EMAMI AND ALI-AMINI.

THE TWO MEN OFFER AN INTERESTING CONTRAST. SHARIF-EMAMI  
IS THE HEAVY, SLOW, GERMAN-TRAINED ACOLYTE OF THE SHAH,  
WHO HAS HANDLED THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PAHLEVI FOUNDATION  
AND WAS THE SHAH'S CHOICE AS THE LAST LEADER IN HIS  
CAMPAIGN OF LIBERALIZATION. ALI-AMINI IS AN ELFIN LITTLE  
MAN, FRENCH-EDUCATED, PERSONALLY WEALTHY, IRREVERANT ABOUT  
THE SHAH, AND THE FAIR-HAIRED AMERICAN PROTEGE OF THE  
KENNEDY PERIOD.

2. SHARIF-EMAMI, WHOM I MET ALONE IN THE HOME OF THE  
ZIAI HOTHERS, GAVE ME A LONG RECITAL OF A PROPOSAL MADE  
TO HIM BY MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT. IT WAS THE

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
AMB:WHSullivan:bks	11/25/78	1600	AMB:WHSullivan

PERMITANCES:

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FAMILIAR CALL FOR A REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH WOULD REPLACE THE SHAH AND PASS THE AUTHORITY FOR FORMATION OF A NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT ON TO SOME VAGUELY DEFINED GROUP WHO WOULD THEN HOLD FREE ELECTIONS AND ASSURE THE RETENTION OF THE MONARCHY FOR THE CROWN PRINCE.

3. I GAVE HIM A FEW WELL-CHOSEN GROUPS ON THE UNREALITY OF THIS PROPOSAL AND TOLD HIM THAT IT HAD BEEN MADE TO ME INDIRECTLY AT LEAST THREE TIMES. I STRESSED THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMPROMISE WITH KHOMEINI, THAT THE SHAH HAD TO REMAIN AS BOTH KING AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND THAT THE NATIONAL FRONT HAD TO FACE THOSE FACTS AS REALITY. I WAS PARTICULARLY HEAVY HANDED IN MAKING THESE POINTS, PARTLY BECAUSE I THINK SHARIF-EMAMI IS NOT VERY BRIGHT AND PARTLY BECAUSE I THINK HE MAY HAVE BEEN PUT UP TO THIS INTERVIEW BY THE SHAH TO TEST OUR STEADFASTNESS. AT ANY RATE, I MADE HIM REPEAT THE LESSON POINT-BY-POINT AFTER I FINISHED MY LECTURE TO BE SURE HE HAD IT RIGHT.

4. AFTERWARDS, I URGED HIM AND THE ZIAI BROTHERS, WHO LATER JOINED US, TO WORK ON BAZAARIS, INDUSTRIALISTS, AND MULLAHS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE SHAH WAS SINCERE IN SEEKING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE AND TO DEFUZE TENSIONS IN THE PERIOD OF MOHARRAM. I STRESSED THAT THE SHAH WAS WILLING TO MEET ANY DOUBTERS PRIVATELY AND THAT THEY SHOULD HELP RECRUIT THOSE WHO WOULD BE INFLUENTIAL TO MEET WITH HIM.

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5. SUBSEQUENTLY, I SAW ALI-AMIMI, WHO TOLD ME HE HAD ALSO BEEN DELUGED WITH THESE SAME OFFERINGS FROM THE NATIONAL FRONT AND HAD TOLD ALL OF THEM TO GO BACK AND GET THEIR HEADS RIGHT BEFORE TRYING TO PURSUE THEIR AMBITIONS. HE SAID HE HAD FOUND ONE SENSIBLE NATIONAL FRONT TYPE WHOM HE WAS BRINGING TO SEE THE SHAH THAT SAME EVENING.

(I UNDERSTOOD IT TO BE FORMER MOSSADEQ MINISTER SADIQI,<sup>?</sup> ALTHOUGH AMIMI SEEMED A LITTLE CONFUSED ABOUT HIS FIRST NAME.) AMIMI CONSIDERS HIM HONEST, REALISTIC, AND SENIOR TO SANJABI IN THE FRONT CONSTELLATION. HE BELIEVES THE SHAH COULD NAME HIM PRIME MINISTER IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT. HE SAYS THE BAZAARIS SUPPORT HIM AND THAT HE HAS THE SYMPATHY OF SHARIAT-MADARI.

6. AMIMI ALSO TOLD ME OF HIS MEETINGS WITH UNIVERSITY, BAZAAR, AND INDUSTRIAL TYPES WHOM HE HAS BEEN ROUNDING UP TO MEET THE SHAH. HE WILL BRING THE UNIVERSITY GROUP TO SEE THE SHAH ON SATURDAY AND HOPES TO GET THE BAZAARIS TOGETHER BY MONDAY.

7. I TOLD AMIMI THAT I HAD DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH THE SHAH THE PROBLEM OF DISTRUST IN WHICH THE POLITICIANS AND BAZAARIS APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF REACHING AGREEMENTS WITH HIM. I SAID THAT MOST OF THEM WERE TRYING TO GET THE UNITED STATES TO ACT AS THEIR GUARANTEE IN ANY DEALS THEY MADE WITH THE SHAH. I POINTED OUT THAT SUCH GUARANTEES WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR A FOREIGN POWER TO MAKE. HOWEVER,

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I SUGGESTED THAT HE, ENTEZAM, AND WHATEVER OTHER NOTABLES MIGHT BE APPOINTED BY THE SHAH AS HIS "PRIVY COUNCIL" COULD ACT AS GUARANTEES. AMIMI SAID HE HAD BEEN THINKING OF THE SAME THING. HE AND HIS GROUP, WITH GENERAL PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SHAH AND THE POLITICIANS. IF ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER VIOLATED THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENTS, THE COUNCIL COULD DECLARE A FOUL. HE FELT THIS WOULD BE ~~AN~~ ADEQUATE ASSURANCE TO BOTH SIDES, SINCE HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD BE ABOVE REPROACH AND REPROOF.

8. FINALLY, WE TALKED ABOUT THE NEED TO ASSURE AGAINST CONFRONTATIONS DURING MOHARRAM. I SAID I HAD SENT GENERAL GAST TO TALK WITH GENERAL OVEISII ABOUT THE NEED TO WORK OUT PRECISE GROUND RULES BETWEEN THE MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES AND THE MULLAHS WITH RESPECT TO PROCESSIONS, ETC., DURING MOHARRAM. I EXPRESSED A FEAR THAT TUDEHI PROVOCATION SQUADS WOULD INFILTRATE THE FAITHFUL AND PRODUCE CONFRONTATIONS<sup>ONS</sup>.

9. COMMENT: THERE IS A GLACIAL AMOUNT OF MOVEMENT BACK TOWARDS SOME SENSE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE SHAH AND THE OPPOSITION. IF AMIMI AND OTHERS CAN CONTINUE TO STIMULATE THIS AND AT THE SAME TIME THE SHAH CAN KEEP THE MILITARY FORCES STEADFAST, THERE MAY BE A POSSIBILITY TO PRECLUDE SOME OF THE WORST POTENTIALS OF MOHARRAM.

I INTEND TO WORK ON SOME OF THE MILITARY ACTIVISTS IN

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THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO CHANNEL THEIR ENERGY INTO CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS.

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ACTION  
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NOV 78  
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EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
EMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3764  
EMBASSY YOKYO IMMEDIATE 0142  
EMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 4077  
EMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3673  
EMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7452  
EMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3461  
EMBASSY NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4321  
AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6575  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4259  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 2269  
USCINCPAC VAININGEN GE IMMEDIATE

SECRET STATE 302290

CAIRO FOR AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD WITH CODEL BYRO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 26, 11/29/78

1. ALL IRAN IS GIRDING FOR A MAJOR CONFRONTATION DURING THE MONTH OF MOHARRAM. BBC'S PERSIAN LANGUAGE SERVICE HAS REPORTED KHOMEINI'S CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE ON DECEMBER 2. ELECTRICAL WORKERS IN ISFAHAN THREATEN A 24-HOUR BLACK OUT THAT DAY WHICH WOULD ALSO CUT WATER SUPPLIES. IN EFFECT, HOWEVER, THE PERIOD OF CONFRONTATION HAS ALREADY BEGUN. A RESURGENCE OF STRIKES IN CUSTOMS, POSSIBLY IRAN AIR AND RADIO AND TV WORKERS, AND SPORADICALLY IN POWER DISTRIBUTION HAVE SERIOUSLY IMPACTED ON LIFE IN THE COUNTRY. LABOR PROBLEMS AT SHIRAZ AND TEHRAN REFINERIES (WHERE TROOPS MOVED IN) HAVE RESULTED IN LONG LINES AT GAS STATIONS AS AUTO OWNERS SEEK TO STOCK UP. RELATIVELY SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED IN TEHRAN AND OTHER CITIES.

2. THE EMBASSY REPORTS THAT CHANCES OF ARRANGING A CIVILIAN COALITION GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO ASHURA (DECEMBER 11) SEEM REMOTE. RECENT VISITORS TO THE SHAH DESCRIBE HIM AS VERY DEPRESSED.

3. AN AMERICAN WHO IS IN TOUCH WITH KHOMEINI SUPPORTERS TOLD A DEPARTMENT OFFICER TODAY THAT OPPOSITION FORCES IN IRAN ARE DELIBERATELY SHOWING RESTRAINT IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS AMERICANS IN IRAN BECAUSE KHOMEINI STILL HARBORS HOPE THAT AMERICANS WILL REVERSE THEIR POLICY OF "TOTAL SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH." SHOULD KHOMEINI ABANDON THAT HOPE, AMERICANS COULD EXPECT FAR MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN IRAN. SAME SOURCE DESCRIBED SPLIT DEVELOPING BETWEEN KHOMEINI FORCES AND NATIONAL FRONT POLITICIANS WHO HOPE TO WORK OUT COMPROMISE DEAL WITH THE SHAH. HE DESCRIBED KHOMEINI BACKERS AS EAGER FOR CONTACT WITH THE USG. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, OFFICER WAS TOLD BY LARGE AMERICAN FIRM THAT ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN A PROVINCIAL IRANIAN

CITY (KERMANSHAH) WAS WARNED BY THE POLICE CHIEF THAT YOUTHFUL DEMONSTRATORS WERE ACQUIRING ARMS.

4. OIL PRODUCTION CONTINUES TO RISE WITH 5.9 MILLION BARRELS PRODUCED ON NOVEMBER 23. GAS SHIPMENTS TO THE WEST WERE RESUMED TWO DAYS AGO.

CONFIDENTIAL

November 30, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The File

FROM:

NEA - MARILYN MCAFEE

SUBJECT:

Debriefing of Dr. Abbas Mirakhor, Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Alabama, Huntsville, November 29, 1978

Dr. Mirakhor has been in Iran from September 1977 until about a week ago, where he was serving as Chairman of the Department of Economics at Farah Pahlavi University, a department he organized. He is Iranian, but a U.S. permanent resident. He accepted the appointment at Farah Pahlavi to pursue research on OPEC and developments in Iran January 1978 to date.

Dr. Mirakhor seemed a sensitive observer of developments in Iran. While he has spoken with religious leaders (including Shariat-Madari) and with elite Iranians, his principal contacts seemed to be the middle class, Western educated, "silent moderates" who, he says, are holding back and are both afraid to get involved and unsure how to affect the developing cataclysm. Dr. Mirakhor is very Persian in his assumption that the U.S. can influence developments in Iran. His cry was clearly for the U.S. to aid the moderates as the only hope for a long term solution to Iran's problems and the only means to avoid an extremist government of the right or the left. He clearly sees the need for U.S. influence to promote a coalition of the moderates and to help them suggest a strength that would move their numbers from the sidelines into active involvement in politics and government.

Dr. Mirakhor believes that the Shah has better than a 50% chance of weathering the immediate storm. He does not believe that he can prevail, as an absolute monarch, in the long run. He believes the key to resolving the crisis is for the U.S. to advance the cause of the moderates in the ensuing months to ensure the installation of a representative government. This is premised on his assumption that the worsening of the economic situation from strikes and shortages will lead to greater quiescence rather than fury on the part of the masses.

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INDICATE  
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E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:  
ACTION:

DCM2  
AMB  
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CRU-0

FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL - EXDIS
ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE CIA WASHDC	
CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11755	
E.O. 11652: XGDS-4 TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR SUBJ: POLITICAL MODERATES ORGANIZING	
SUMMARY: MODERATE GROUP OF PROFESSORS, GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND OTHERS ARE EVOLVING PLANS FOR ASSISTING IN CREATION OF MODERATE CIVILIAN GROUP SOON AFTER ASHURA. THEY NOTE THEY NEED APPROVAL OF THE SHAH AND OF AT LEAST THE MODERATE RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION. THEIR TACTICS ARE EVOLVING.	
END SUMMARY	
1. MEETING SET UP NOV 29 PRIMARILY TO PROVIDE BRIEFING FOR VISITING CIA OFFICIAL DR. ROBERT BOWIE TURNED INTO WIDER DISCUSSION OF PLANS A MODERATE GROUP HAS FOR ASSISTING IN FORMATION OF A NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. VICE CHANCELLOR MEHDI HERAVI OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY BROUGHT HIS FRIEND DR. PARVIZ SORURI, DEAN OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL, FOR DISCUSSION WITH BOWIE AND POL COUNSELOR. REFERRING TO AN EARLIER CONVERSATION	
ANNEX POL:GBLambrakis	DRAFTING DATE 11/30/78
TEL. EXT. 1110	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: MIN:GNAas

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ABOUT 10 DAYS AGO WHICH HERAVI HAD WITH POL COUNSELOR, HERAVI EXPOSED HIS GROUP'S PLANS. FOR PAST YEAR HERAVI AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN MEETING REGULARLY TO DISCUSS POLITICAL SITUATION, IN PARTICULAR HOW TO PRESERVE THE POSITION OF MODERATES BEING THREATENED BY POLARIZATION BETWEEN SHAH'S LOYALISTS AND KHOMEINI'S OPPOSITION. GROUP BEGAN WITH PROFESSORS BUT HAS EXPANDED TO INCLUDE OTHERS, SOME OF WHOM HAVE SINCE BECOME MINISTERS IN GOVERNMENT. THE TEN CURRENT MEMBERS OF GROUP INCLUDE, IN ADDITION TO SORURI AND HERAVI, PRESENT MINISTER OF JUSTICE HOSSEIN NAJAFI, PRESENT MINISTER OF STATE FOR EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS MOSTAFA PAYEDAR, TEHRAN MAYOR JAVAD SHAHRESTANI, PROMINENT COLUMNIST AHMAD AHRA, JOURNALIST AND HIGH CIVIL SERVANT AHMAD SAMII, AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS DR. HASSAN GHOFURI, DR. ABOLFASIAL GAZI, AND DR. HAKAMI.

2. GROUP HAD CONSIDERED GETTING PROMINENT PERSONALITY SUCH AS DR. SORURI'S FATHER, PROMINENT JURIST AND EX-MINISTER MOHAMAD SORURI, TO CALL A MEETING OF 40 or 50 LEADING MODERATES AND DISCUSS CREATION OF A MODERATE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. AFTER DISCUSSING MATTER WITH SORURI, ALI AMINI AND OTHERS, GROUP IS LEANING AWAY FROM IDEA ABOUT SUCH A LARGE MEETING TOWARD FOCUS ON SOMETHING WHICH WILL BRING MORE RAPID ACTION, SO THAT A GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE READY IN THE WINGS TO TAKE OVER FROM

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PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT PERHAPS AS EARLY AS A WEEK AFTER ASHURA (I.E., ABOUT DECEMBER 20).

3. GROUP VISUALIZES FOUR OR FIVE EMINENT PEOPLE LENDING THEIR SUPPORT AND PRESTIGE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE IN MIND SORURI SENIOR, AMINI, ABDULLAH ENTEZAM, DR. MOHAMAD HOSSEIN NAJM (AN ELDERLY RETIRED DIPLOMAT) AND PERHAPS ALLAHYAR SALEH, FORMER LEADER OF NATIONAL FRONT. THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO ADD A PROMINENT CURRENT LEADER OF NATIONAL FRONT IF THAT IS POSSIBLE. THESE MEN COULD SERVE AS A COUNCIL TO A NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OR AS MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO IN THE GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD ASSIST A PRIME MINISTER IN SELECTING A GOVERNMENT MADE UP OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SHAH AND TOP RELIGIOUS LEADERS. ALTHOUGH THEIR ORIGINAL CANDIDATE WAS MAYOR SHAHRESTANI, THEY HAVE NOW DECIDED BETTER CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI. HE HAS EXCELLENT STANDING WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS SUCH AS SHARIAT-MADARI, BEING GRANDSON OF A VERY FAMOUS RELIGIOUS LEADER OF ISPAHAN. HE HAS ALSO MADE A NAME FOR HIMSELF REFUSING IN THE PAST TO ACT AS A TOOL OF SAVAK'S GENERAL NASSIRI AND OF PRINCESS ASHRAF.

4. THE FIRST PROBLEM IS GETTING GROUP OF 4 or 5 EMINENT PEOPLE TO AGREE TO SERVE. DR. SORURI, WHO KNOWS THEM ALL WELL (THEY ARE HIS PATIENTS), BELIEVES THEY REQUIRE

EXPLICIT SIGN FROM THE SHAH THAT HE WISHES THEM TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A TASK AND THAT HE WILL MAKE APPROPRIATE PUBLIC GESTURE TO FACILITATE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S WORK. RELATES THE GESTURE THEY HAVE HIT UPON ~~REXX~~ TO PROPERTIES OWNED BY THE SHAH'S FAMILY. THEY BELIEVE SHAH IS WRONG IN GETTING AZHARI GOVERNMENT TO APPOINT A COMMISSION OF THREE JURISTS TO INVESTIGATE ROYAL FAMILY'S PROPERTIES, AS HAS JUST BEEN ANNOUNCED. THEIR INVESTIGATION WILL BE DIFFICULT AND LONG, AND WHATEVER THEY DECIDE WILL HAVE NO CREDIBILITY WITH THE PEOPLE. MUCH BETTER THAT THE SHAH HIMSELF DECIDE, AND ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY, THE RETURN OF SPECIFIED PROPERTIES HELD BY MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY TO THE GOVERNMENT. AFTER ALL EVERYBODY BELIEVES THE SHAH HIMSELF IS BEST JUDGE OF WHERE THOSE PROPERTIES COME FROM, AND IN ANY CASE HOLDERS OF THE PROPERTY WOULD NOT BE SERIOUSLY HURT SINCE THEY PROBABLY HAVE MORE THAN ADEQUATE RESERVE OF FUNDS STASHED AWAY OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THIS GESTURE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY THE PEOPLE AND WOULD HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY TOOK IN POL COUNSELOR'S REMARK THAT SUCH A GESTURE MIGHT STRIKE SOME AS THE SHAH CONTINUING TO "FEED THE ALLIGATORS," BUT THEY THOUGHT IT WAS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE COURSE. SHAH COULD FOLLOW THIS WITH ANNOUNCEMENT HE IS GIVING PAHLAVI FOUNDATION BACK TO THE PEOPLE, AS HE HAS ALREADY PROMISED TO DO BUT HAS NOT DONE.



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5. ANOTHER HURDLE IS MECHANICS OF THIS PROCESS. THESE EMINENT MEN WOULD NOT MOVE WITHOUT GETTING PERMISSION FROM THE SHAH FOR WHAT THEY ARE TO DO, AND WOULD NOT THEMSELVES MAKE SUCH SUGGESTIONS OR DEMANDS OF THE SHAH. GROUP THOUGHT THESE IDEAS COULD MOST EFFECTIVELY BE FED TO THE SHAH BY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, SINCE THE SHAH HAS REACHED A STAGE AT WHICH HE NO LONGER TRUSTS ANY IRANIAN. MOREOVER, THESE CONSERVATIVE OLD GENTLEMEN WOULD NOT TALK BACK TO THE SHAH, OR PRESS HIM. THEIR FUNCTION IS TO LEND PRESTIGE AND GOOD REPUTATION TO MORE DYNAMIC YOUNGER GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD PREPARE THE COUNTRY FOR FREE ELECTIONS.

6. IT IS THEREFORE NECESSARY THAT SHAH INVITE THESE PEOPLE TO COME MEET WITH HIM AND GIVE THEM A DIRECTIVE TO ASSIST IN LAUNCHING OF NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT AFTER ASHURA. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF SHAH HIMSELF SUGGESTED MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI AS A GOOD CHOICE FOR PRIME MINISTER. OTHERWISE, THERE WAS ALWAYS THE RISK THAT SOME OTHER ADVISER MIGHT GET TO THE SHAH WITH ANOTHER NAME, AND THESE EMINENT MEN WOULD NOT QUARREL IF THE SHAH SUGGESTED THAT NAME. THIS LED TO SOME DISCUSSION OF NAMES, WITH THE HOPE EXPRESSED ON ALL SIDES THAT RIVALRY FOR THE POST OF PRIME MINISTER OUGHT NOT TO ARISE. DUE NOTE WAS TAKEN OF PROBABILITY THAT ALI AZADI, WHO IS CURRENTLY CONDUCTING A TALENT SEARCH FOR MODERATES ON BEHALF OF THE

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SHAH, MIGHT HAVE DECIDED ON ENTEZAM AS NEXT PRIME MINISTER. SHOULD NAJAFI NOT BE ACCEPTABLE, HERAVI AND SORURI READILY AGREED NAJAFI COULD BE PUT IN AS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO ASSIST ENTEZAM.

7. CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION FOLLOWED ON SAD STATE OF PRESENT AFFAIRS. SORURI AND HERAVI GAVE EXAMPLES OF SURPRISINGLY EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION AMONG OPPOSITION. WHEN NOT EVEN THE IRANIAN ARMY IS CAPABLE OF SUCH EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, SUSPICION MUST FALL ON ONLY GROUP IN IRANIAN HISTORY WHICH HAS BEEN WELL ORGANIZED--THE TUDER COMMUNIST PARTY. HERAVI LIKENED MANY ACTIVITIES OF THE OPPOSITION TO DATE TO THE TACTICS USED BY THE PETROGRAD SOVIETS AGAINST THE KERENSKY SOCIALISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. THEIR AIM IS TO DEMORALIZE THE CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHER MODERATES. STRIKE ACTIVITIES, RUMOR MONGERING, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND KILLING, ALL WORK TO THAT END. SORURI GAVE AS A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE THE DAY HE ARRIVED FOR WORK AT THE HOSPITAL AT 6 A.M. TO FIND A LEAFLET DIRECTING DOCTORS NOT TO WORK, OR TO WORK VERY LITTLE. THIS LEAFLET HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT TEHRAN DURING THAT NIGHT.

8. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, HERAVI AND SORURI AGREED TO TRY TO DO WHAT THEY WANTED WITHOUT DIRECT EMBASSY ASSISTANCE FOR THE MOMENT. HERAVI IS PLANNING TO SEE NAJAFI AND PUT THE MATTER TO HIM. HE WILL LET NAJAFI BE THE JUDGE OF WHETHER OR NOT HE CAN OBTAIN AT LEAST TACIT APPROVAL

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MRN

FROM SHARIAT-MADARI AND SOME OF THE OTHER AYATOLLAHS.  
SORURI WILL APPROACH AMINI TO SEE IF AMINI WILL NOT ACT  
AS INTERMEDIARY WITH THE SHAH, EITHER FOR THE GROUP OF  
EMINENT ELDERS OR FOR HERAVI, SORURI, AND ONE OR TWO  
OTHERS OF THEIR GROUP TO SEE THE SHAH AND PUT THE PROPOSI-  
TION TO HIM. THEY SAID THEY WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH.

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM 10  
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SECRET

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**ACTION**

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STATE WASHDC  
ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
ALL EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
STATE/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3773  
STATE/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 6166  
STATE/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6105  
STATE/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3887  
STATE/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7459  
STATE/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3464  
STATE/COMMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4394  
STATE/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6595  
STATE/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4242  
STATE/AMCONSUL WUHRINGEN GE IMMEDIATE  
STATE/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9279

STATE 303564

STATE FOR AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD WITH CODEL BYRD

STATE 10001 / 655

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STATE 10001 / 655

ALL AGENTS TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION  
THE SHAH IS VIRTUALLY BEGUN. CONCERNS AND RUMORS ARE  
THIS SITUATION IS NOT HELPED BY THE STRIFE  
WHICH HAS CRIPPLED THE ALREADY POOR  
AT THE SAME TIME, THE BBC HAS  
LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL CALLING FOR A REGENCY  
THE SHAH, WHICH HAS TEHRAN BUZZING.  
WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE SHAH, IT WILL  
GOI DEMAND TO CURE THE BBC PERSIAN

THE DECEMBER 1 MACNBIL/LEHRER REPORT  
WILL FEATURE AN INTERVIEW WITH

SOURCE WHO SPENT A NUMBER OF  
SHARIATMADARI TEN DAYS AGO REPORTS

SHARIATMADARI TEN DAYS AGO REPORTS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CONFRONTATION:

[REDACTED] HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE FOR

[REDACTED] AND

[REDACTED] MUST REMAIN, SINCE HE RECOGNIZES THE

[REDACTED] SOVEREIGN WITHOUT THE SHAH.

[REDACTED] THAT IF SHARIATMADARI PERCEIVES

[REDACTED] FOLLOWING ASHURA (DECEMBER 11)

[REDACTED] WHEN THE ULTIMATE CONFRONTA-

[REDACTED] SPOKE WITH PM GENERAL AZHARI NOVEM-

[REDACTED] IN GOOD SPIRITS. HOWEVER, AZHARI

[REDACTED] WORRIED ABOUT HIS OFFICERS, AND FEELS

[REDACTED] RETURN TO THEM TO PULL THEM TOGETHER AS A

[REDACTED] INDICATION OF DISSENSION IN THE

[REDACTED] ALSO SAID HE WAS BRINGING IN GERMANS,

[REDACTED] TO REPLACE STRIKERS AT POWER PLANTS.

[REDACTED] WITH SECURITY FORCES ARE REPORTED IN TEHRAN,

[REDACTED] FOUR OTHER CITIES. VANCE

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CONFIDENTIAL

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY  
Tehran, Iran

*file under  
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Ahmad Djadali, IIAF Procurement  
Jack H. Shellenberger, PAO

DATE & PLACE: Djadali Residence - December 3, 1978

SUBJECT: Attitudes toward the Shah

DISTRIBUTION: AMB, DCM, POL, POL/MIL, ECON, CONS, OR, ICA/NEA

Background: Early during my tour here, I became acquainted with Ahmad and his family through Ahmad's fiancée who is a secretary at the Voice of America. The Djadalis are a middle class family. His father is a retired civil servant; his sister a university student. Ahmad, himself, has a MA in Political Science from Georgetown and is now doing his military stint as a civilian in the IIAF procurement office with special responsibilities for liaison with Lockheed personnel. He says his work is such that he is best advised not to visit my office or even play tennis at the Embassy. So we periodically get together at the modest apartment of his family off Roosevelt north of the Embassy.

Ahmad is very concerned by what he considers a serious erosion of support for the Shah on the part of the military personnel he sees daily. Stories and rumors are rampant that the generals now in charge are acquiring huge sums in preparation for a fast exodus. Allegiance to the Shah is a temporary expedient on their part; as for the lower ranking military, it is wavering. The root cause of all the malaise is the Shah himself who permitted his family and confidantes to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses. What we are witnessing is a sudden widespread revulsion against the Pahlavi dynasty which no amount of allusion to past contributions (land reform, women's rights, education) can dispel.

An unfortunate byproduct of all this is the alienation taking place between the Iranian people and the USG and foreigners in Iran. Ahmad is genuinely convinced that I and my family are in some peril here, that we should be as inconspicuous as possible. His father chimed in to say that he has no doubt that the Russians are injecting themselves into the situation through the Tudeh. Religion is only a cover for expression of discontent in Iran, both opined.

Interestingly, both are skeptical that incidents of violence around the country are the exclusive work of the opposition. They suspect the military government is behind certain of these incidents to justify their seizure of power.

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Comment: While neither of these contacts represents any institution, and neither has high standing, their views seemed to warrant recounting as reflective of some middle class thinking these days in Tehran.

JHSheilenberger:mh

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1978 DEC -4 PM 1:38

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
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E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:  ACTION:  POL:3 ✓  AMB MIN ECON02 ON <del>IME</del> ICA OR SY ADM DAO AFOSI CRU  ISF SHIR TABR	FROM	CLASSIFICATION	
	AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CONFIDENTIAL EXDIS	
	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE		
	CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN	11843	
	EXDIS		
	E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/4/08 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P		
	TAGS: PINS, PORS, IR		
	SUBJ: OPPOSITION PROPOSALS FOR DEPARTURE OF SHAH		
	REF: (A) TEHRAN 11097, (B) TEHRAN 11083		
	SUMMARY: DR. MINATCHI TOLD EMBOFF PROPOSAL FOR A REGENCY COUNCIL IS BEING PUT TO LEADING KHOMEINI REPRESENTATIVES DEC 4. THEY WILL GO TO PARIS TO CONVINCE KHOMEINI, WITH PRESSURE IF NECESSARY, TO ACCEPT THEM. MINATCHI HAD HEARD RUMOR SHAH MIGHT BE READY TO AGREE TO REGENCY COUNCIL. ALI AMINI HAD TOLD MINATCHI "FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISERS" HAD SAID MILITARY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT AGREE TO DEPARTURE OF SHAH AND SAID IF COUNCIL IDEA ADOPTED, SHAH WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE MILITARY COMMANDER. EMBOFF DENIED U.S. ADVISERS WOULD HAVE MADE SUCH STATEMENTS. MINATCHI SAID OPPOSITION WOULD ACCEPT PRESENT/ SERVICE S HEADS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. IN REPLY TO MINATCHI QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE SHOULD CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS, EMBOFF SAID ALL PEACEFUL EFFORTS ARE USEFUL AND URGED REALITY OF		
DRAFTED BY:	POL:JDStempel	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT. CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
		12/4/78	1112 MIN:CNnaas
CLEARANCES:	POL:GBLambrakis		

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50152-101

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(Formerly FS-413)  
January 19  
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SITUATION BE IMPRESSED ON ALL SIDES. END SUMMARY

1. AT MINATCHI'S REQUEST, EMBOFF STEMPER MET AGAIN WITH DR. NASSER MINATCHI, TREASURER OF COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND ASSOCIATE OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI. MINATCHI WANTED TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS AND HEAR ANY LATEST U.S. IDEAS, BECAUSE HE WAS MEETING WITH TWO OF THREE LEADING KHOMEINI AYATOLLAHS OVER LUNCH TO PREPARE THEM FOR TRIP TO PARIS WITHIN NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS. AYATOLLAHS WHO WILL GO TO PARIS ARE MONTAZARI OF QOM AND RAFSANJANI OF TEHRAN (THEY, PLUS TALEQANI/~~OF~~ TEHRAN, MAKE UP KHOMEINI "HIGH COMMAND" WITHIN IRAN, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI). THEY WILL PLACE BEFORE KHOMEINI THE IDEA OF A REGENCY COUNCIL TO REPLACE THE SHAH (SEE REFTELS FOR DETAILS) WHICH WOULD THEN APPOINT A COALITION GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE PREPARED TO "PRESSURE" KHOMEINI TO ACCEPT THIS. ALL OPPOSITIONISTS AND THE SHARIAT-MADARI GROUP IN QOM AND MASHAD HAVE AGREED TO COOPERATE WITH AND SUPPORT SUCH A GOVT.

2. MINATCHI DESCRIBED PAST TEN DAYS' NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALI AMINI AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHARIF-EMAMI WHICH LED UP TO PRESENT SITUATION AND SAID BOTH AMINI AND SHARIF-EMAMI HAD ACCEPTED IDEAS AS VALUABLE ON FIRST HEARING, ONLY TO BECOME STANDOFFISH. (MINATCHI SAID AT FIRST MEETING WITH AMINI, LATTER HAD SAID "AMERICANS

HAVE AUTHORIZED CONTACT WITH YOU." EMBOFF DENIED THIS, AND SAID WE SIMPLY HAD URGED AMINI AND OTHERS TO TALK WITH ALL THOSE INVOLVED.) ~~AMINIXSHARIFEMAMI~~ EMBOFF SAID HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THE SHAH WOULD REJECT ANY SOLUTION THAT DID NOT ENABLE <sup>HIM</sup> ~~AMINI~~ TO REMAIN AS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY. MINATCHI SHOULD NOT RPT NOT LET WISHFUL THINKING MISLEAD HIS GROUP ON THAT SCORE. MINATCHI ADDED NONE OF HIS GROUP REALLY TRUSTED AMINI OR SHARIF-EMAMI IN ULTIMATE ANALYSIS BECAUSE THEY "WERE AFRAID."

3. OTHER PROBLEM WAS SITUATION WITHIN ARMY, WHICH EMBOFF HAD DISCUSSED WITH MINATCHI AT LAST MEETING. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, AMINI TOLD HIM THAT "FOREIGN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHO ADVISE IRANIAN ARMED FORCES" TOLD ~~MIN~~ AMINI THAT IF SHAH GOES, ARMY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT OBEY WHO-EVER FOLLOWED. EMBOFF ASKED IF THAT MEANT U.S. OFFICERS AND MINATCHI SAID AMINI CERTAINLY MEANT IT THAT WAY. EMBOFF FLATLY DENIED U.S. OFFICERS MAKE SUCH COMMENTS, ESPECIALLY TO POLITICAL LEADERS. AS MINATCHI KNEW, HOWEVER, EMBOFF AT LAST MEETING (REF A) HAD EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD WILLINGLY GO ALONG WITH SCENARIO WHICH SAW SHAH'S DEPARTURE. MINATCHI SAID SHAH COULD ALWAYS NAME NEW TROOP COMMANDERS BEFORE HE LEFT, AND IN ANY CASE, THERE WOULD BE LOYALISTS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. HE NAMED FOLLOWING RETIRED GENERALS

WHO WERE ACCEPTABLE TO OPPOSITION: ASGHAVI, JAM, BATMANGELIDJ, GARZAN AND REZVANI, PLUS RETIRED ADMIRAL MADANI, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS VERY TRUSTED BY THE SHAH, A BRILLIANT MAN, AND SYMPATHETIC TO THE NATIONAL FRONT. WHEN EMBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT SERVING TROOP COMMANDERS WOULD EASILY ACQUIESCE IN THEIR OWN REPLACEMENT, MINATCHI SAID THAT WAS POSSIBLE, BUT THEN STATED THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY HAVING MEMBERS OF PRESENT ARMED SERVICES ON REGENCY COUNCIL. EMBOFF ASKED HIM QUESTION SECOND TIME, AND MINATCHI SAID THIS WAS TRUE, BASIC POINT WAS TO GET SHAH OUT OF POWER -- ALL OPPOSITIONISTS HAD AGREED THEY COULD SERVE UNDER REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH HAD PRESENT MILITARY LEADERS ON IT. (COMMENT: THIS REPRESENTS MODEST CHANGE FROM PROPOSITION PUT FORWARD IN REFTTEL. WHILE IT WOULD NOT MAKE THIS PROPOSAL ANY MORE PALATABLE TO SHAH, IT ~~MINATCHI~~<sup>IS</sup>/USEFUL TO KEEP IN MIND. ~~FOR REGENCY COUNCIL~~)

4. MINATCHI DESCRIBED IDEA OF REGENCY COUNCIL -- IN HIS AND OPPOSITION'S EYES, THIS IS NOT ADVISORY COUNCIL SET FORTH IN AMENDED ARTICLE 38 OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF 1907. OPPOSITION CONCEPT IS THAT REGENCY COUNCIL AS A GROUP WOULD ASSUME REGENCY IN PLACE OF SHABANOU AND HAVE NO NEED FOR STATUTORY COUNCIL. REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TWO OR THREE GENERALS FROM LIST ABOVE, FOUR CIVILIANS, AND PRESENT CHIEF OF STAFF

AND OTHER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES "IF THIS WAS NECESSARY." EMBOFF MADE NO COMMENT OTHER THAN TO NOTE THAT THIS PROPOSAL SEEMED UNACCEPTABLE TO SHAH.

5. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, MINATCHI ASKED IF EMBOFF PERSONALLY THOUGHT HE SHOULD GO AHEAD DISCUSSING PROPOSAL AND EVEN SEND AYATOLLAHS TO PARIS, SINCE IT SEEMED THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT YET FULLY RIPE. EMBOFF REPLIED CONTINUED DISCUSSION WAS PREFERABLE TO VIOLENCE, AND PROBED POSSIBILITY THAT SHARIAT-MADARI AND KHOMEINI LEADERS IN COUNTRY MIGHT BE DRAWN AWAY FROM HARD INSISTENCE THAT SHAH LEAVE. MINATCHI WAS MILDLY UNCOMFORTABLE WITH QUESTION, BUT EVENTUALLY OPINED THAT SUCH A SHIFT SEEMED UNLIKELY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE EVLNTS MIGHT SHIFT VIEWS ON BOTH SIDES AND HOPED VIOLENCE WOULD NOT ACCOMPANY CONTINUAL POST-CURFEW ACTIVITIES. EMBOFF URGED HIM TO DESCRIBE REAL SITUATION AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE TO AYATOLLAHS, ADDING THAT NONE OF US WANTED BLOODSHED AND THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID IT WOULD BE FOR "PEOPLE" TO SHOW A LITTLE MORE FLEXIBILITY AND BASE THEIR OWN IDEAS ON WHAT MIGHT PROVIDE THE STUFF OF COMPROMISE. MINATCHI NODDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD.

6. MINATCHI ADDED RITUAL PITCH THAT U.S. TAKE THIS PROPOSAL TO THE THRONE " TO PAVE THE WAY," AND ACCEPTED WITH GOOD GRACE EMBOFF'S CHIDING THAT HE WAS ONCE AGAIN TRYING TO GET U.S. TO MEDDLE IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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OTHER DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING REPORTED  
SEPTEL.

7. COMMENT: ASIDE FROM ACCEPTANCE OF PRESENT SENIOR  
MILITARY MEN ON PROPOSED REGENCY COUNCIL, ONLY NEW  
ELEMENT IS FORTHCOMING PITCH TO KHOMEINI. AS FAR AS  
WE KNOW, THIS WILL BE ONLY EFFORT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE  
opposition's  
FROM HIS OWN SUPPORTERS TO PRESS KHOMEINI FOR ANY  
"GIVE" DEVELOPING IN HIS POSITION.

SULLIVAN

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28OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)  
(Formerly FS-413(H))  
January 1975

TELEGRAM

DEC -5 PM 1:35 11843

CLASSIFICATION  
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CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL
E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11843
ACTION: DCM:2 AMB POL: CRU	EXDIS E.O. 12065: RDS 12/4/98 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, IR, PINT SUBJ: MORE STIRRING AMONG MODERATE LEADERS
SUMMARY: HEAD OF TEACHERS' UNION SPEAKS OF FINDING A "THIRD WAY" TO AVOID EITHER RESURGENCE OF SHAH'S POWER OR KHOMEINI VICTORY. HE BELIEVES SHAH MUST GO, HOWEVER, YIELDING TO A REGENCY COUNCIL. THIS IDEA IS CURRENT AMONG NATIONAL FRONT OPPOSITIONISTS TOO. END SUMMARY	
1. ON DEC 3 POL COUNSELOR WAS INVITED FOR CONVERSATION WITH MOHAMAD DERAKHSHESH, HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION WHO IS ACTIVE POLITICALLY WITH FRIENDS IN VARIOUS OTHER OCCUPA- TIONS. DERAKHSHESH WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE NEED HE AND LIKE-MINDED MODERATE OPPONENTS OF THE SHAH FEEL FOR FINDING SOME "THIRD COURSE" WHICH WILL NOT BE THAT OF KHOMEINI. HE AND HIS FRIENDS VISUALIZE THIS AS INVOLVING THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH IN FAVOR OF A	
DRAFTED BY: POL:GBLambrakis	DRAFTING DATE: 12/5/78 EXT: 1110 CLASSIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: MMN:CWNags

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29OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)  
(Formerly FS-413(H))  
January 1975  
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REGENCY COUNCIL TO BE MADE UP OF HIGHLY RESPECTED MEN -- JUDGES, ETC. THIS COUNCIL WOULD THEN APPOINT REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF POLITICAL LEADERS FROM NATIONAL FRONT, OTHER PARTIES, BAZAARIS, HIMSELF, ETC. WHO WOULD FORM GOVT, PREPARE FREE ELECTIONS AND WAIT FOR NEW GOVT TO COME OUT OF FREELY ELECTED NEW MAJLIS.

2. DERAKHSHESH WAS AWARE ~~OK~~ THIS <sup>IS</sup> KIND OF SOLUTION MANY ARE TALKING ABOUT. HE DID NOT SHOW GREAT APPRECIATION FOR EFFECT DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH WOULD HAVE ON MILITARY HIGH COMMAND (THINKING THAT COULD BE HANDLED WITH FORMER RETIRED OFFICERS OF GOOD REPUTE) BUT WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS, AND SEEMED TO BE MODERATELY IMPRESSED, BY PROBLEMS THAT WOULD ARISE IF ARMY CRUMBLLED. HE KEPT REPEATING NEED FOR ARMY TO BE "NATIONAL" RATHER THAN OWING ITS ALLEGIANCE TO ONE MAN, THE SHAH. HAVING DONE HIS MILITARY SERVICE AS AN OFFICER HIMSELF IN REZA SHAH'S ARMY, HE REMEMBERED CORRUPTION AND COWARDISE OF TOP OFFICERS.

EVERTHELESS, HE GRANTED THE POINT THAT CHANGE IN ARMY MIGHT HAVE TO BE MORE GRADUAL, WHILE IT SERVES AS AN UMBRELLA TO PROTECT BASIC CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

3. DERAKHSHESH VOLUNTEERED THAT HE FEARED EITHER A RELIGIOUS DICTATORSHIP UNDER KHOMEINI OR A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER ONCE KHOMEINI IS SWEEP ASIDE. HIS OBJECTIVE IS TO START IRAN ON THE ROAD TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC GOVT. HE DID NOT QUARREL WITH POL COUNSELOR'S POINT THAT IRAN WAS HEADED

THAT WAY UNDER SHAH'S LIBERALIZATION PLAN, BEYOND EXPRESSING CONTINUING INABILITY TO BELIEVE ANYTHING THE SHAH SAYS. HE SAID HE OR HIS FRIENDS WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE BRANDED TRAITORS AND LOSE THEIR FOLLOWERS IF THEY ACCEPTED TO WORK IN A GOVT UNDER THE SHAH. HE KEPT RETURNING TO THE POINT THAT THE SHAH MUST GO -- OTHERWISE KHOMEINI FOLLOWERS WILL NOT BE REDUCED IN POWER SUFFICIENTLY TO ALLOW DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS TO BECOME ACTIVE AND ORGANIZE A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FOR IRAN.

4. DERAKHSHESH SHOWED HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH MANY TEACHERS, PULLING OUT LONG ROLLED PETITIONS, MANY OF THEM WITH HUNDREDS OF SIGNATURES ON THEM, WHICH HE HAS BEEN RECEIVING FROM THE PROVINCES. IN ONE CASE THE TEACHERS HAD SOUGHT REFUGE IN A MOSQUE AND SIGNED THIS PETITION AFTER FIVE OF THEIR NUMBER HAD BEEN ARRESTED. ALL THE PETITIONS ARE ANTI-SHAH.

5. DERAKHSHESH COMPLAINED OF HAVING BEEN ARRESTED WHEN HE AND HIS PEOPLE TRIED TO PRINT SOME TRACTS AND A NEWS-PAPER EARLIER THIS YEAR. HE NOTED THE SHAH HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN APPOINTING SHARIF-EMAMI, WITH HIS IMAGE, AS PRIME MINISTER AT A TIME OF SUCH GREAT CRISIS. SHAH MIGHT HAVE SALVAGED A GREAT PART OF THE SITUATION IF HE HAD APPOINTED A COALITION GOVT INCLUDING SOME OPPOSITION FIGURES. HE INDICATED NEED HE AND HIS FRIENDS FELT TO BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE, DESPITE HOPELESSNESS OF POLITICAL

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ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WHILE TEST OF STRENGTH BETWEEN KHOMEINI AND SHAH IS AT ITS HEIGHT. HE AGREED WITH POL COUNSELOR THAT ONCE MOHARRAM PERIOD HAS PASSED IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE SITUATION TO SEE WHETHER COMPROMISE SOLUTION WITH SHAH CONTINUING IN ROLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE FOR POLITICAL MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF, WHO RECOGNIZE DANGER OF MOB RULE, OR WORSE, SHOULD KHOMEINI OPPOSITION HAVE ITS WAY. HE ALSO TOOK IN (SEVERAL TIMES DURING MEETING) POL COUNSELOR'S POINT THAT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN IRAN REMAIN FOR ANY FUTURE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL ENCOURAGING WITH AND, BY ~~RESTATE~~ POPULAR BELIEF THAT ROOT CAUSE OF ALL THEIR PROBLEMS IS THE SHAH, EXPECTATION IS AMONG THE PEOPLE CREATED, THAT PROBLEMS WILL DISAPPEAR WHEN SHAH GOES; DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN PROBLEMS DO NOT DISAPPEAR COULD REDOUND AGAINST ANY FUTURE GOV. EVEN ONE OF NATIONAL FRONT OPPOSITION. NEVERTHELESS, DERAKHSHESH EXPRESSED STRONG DOUBTS ANY SOLUTION WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH COULD WORK.

6. COMMENT: DERAKHSHESH IS TYPICAL OF MANY MODERATE LEADERS WHO ARE AFRAID OF KHOMEINI VICTORY AND WOULD LIKE TO FIND A "THIRD WAY." IN DERAKHSHESH'S CASE HE IS CONVINCED THIS WOULD NOT WORK UNLESS SHAH LEFT IN FAVOR OF A REGENCY COUNCIL. THAT IS POSITION VERY CLOSE TO OPPOSITIONIST NATIONAL FRONT S, AS EXPRESSED BY MINATCHI

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OPTIONAL FORM  
(Formerly PG  
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TO EMBOFF VERY NEXT DAY (SEPTEL). THEY HAVE CLEARLY BEEN IN TOUCH.

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)  
(Formerly PG 413 H)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

AMB  
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POL  
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ADMI  
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SHIR

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE AIRGRAM

Shiraz A-34

CONFIDENTIAL

2

HANDLING	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL	MESSAGE REFERENCE NO. A-34
TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE		
INFO: AMCONSULS ISFAHAN AND TABRIZ (VIA INTERNAL POUCH)		
FROM: 12065: E.O. 12812	AMCONSUL SHIRAZ	DATE: 12/6/78
TAGS:	GDS-12/6/78 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-M PINS, PINT, IR	
SUBJECT:	WHITHER IRAN AFTER MOHARRAM?	
REF:		

DEPT. DISTRIBUTION			
ORIGIN/ACTION			
AF	ARA	CU	EA
EB	EUR	INR	IO
L	NEA	PER	PM
REP	SCI	SS	SY
AGR	AID	AIR	ARMY
CIA	COM	DOD	DOT
FRS	HEW	INT	LAB
NAVY	NSA	NSC	OPIC
STR	TAR	TRSY	USIA
XMB			

SUMMARY: (C) Opponents of the Pahlavi regime hope to bring it down during the month of Moharram while the hope in Tehran appears to be that Moharram will prove the inability of oppositionists to achieve their political objectives without first compromising with the Shah. Both these hopes may be overly optimistic. The odds, as seen from Shiraz, seem to favor continued confrontation even after Moharram. If this state of affairs does indeed persist, the evolution of attitudes within the military will become crucial. Whatever the ultimate political denouement here, the military will almost certainly figure prominently in it. Our national interests will best be served by elimination of the unrest which has been so disruptive in recent months. Under the circumstances, the best policy we can pursue may well be to let events reach their natural conclusion with a minimum of attempted manipulation on our part. END SUMMARY

(C) Opposition elements in Shiraz and elsewhere in southern Iran appear to hope that through a combination of strikes and other crippling labor actions, demonstrations and shop closures, and general confrontations

tation of the government reaching a culmination during the month of Moharram that the Shah will be driven from his throne and Iranians everywhere will at long last achieve political self-realization. The hope in Tehran, on the other hand, as seen from Shiraz seems to be that Moharram will prove the inability of the opposition to overthrow the Pahlavi regime and that thereafter pressures will rapidly build on opposition leaders to compromise with the Shah.

(C) Both these hopes may be overly optimistic. Despite rumours of arms shipments clandestinely flooding the country, it does not seem likely that the Iranian military is in any immediate danger of being out-gunned by opponents of the regime. The latter to date have been armed with little more than their zeal, whatever they have found lying in the streets, and an occasional home-made explosive device. Thus, given the current weaponry mismatch and assuming the military is as yet unprepared to take on the job of deposing the Shah for his opponents, the odds are in favor of his being able to hang on for awhile longer if that is his choice.

(C) A coalition government, however, even one including opposition elements, anticipatory to national elections in June would have dubious prospects for success. It is conceivable that some relatively moderate elements opposed to monarchical absolutism (if not monarchy itself) as well as a host of opportunists of all political shades would be tempted to join a coalition government, but those committed to the elimination of the monarchy as an institution almost surely would continue to hold out. This latter group, at least in southern Iran, seems large and determined. Further, given the atmosphere of hostility, suspicion and cynicism which dominates the view of these irreconcilables, it is unlikely in the extreme that any coalition government, even one including certified opponents of the regime, would have much credibility among them. They are inclined to view just willingness to deal with the Pahlavi regime as, ipso facto, a traitorous act.

(C) Under such circumstances, confrontation could easily continue virtually unabated. Those dedicated to the Shah's overthrow would attempt to keep up the pressure on him and what would be perceived as his government. They would most probably focus their efforts on the kinds of economic actions which have proven so disruptive heretofore. At the same time, the government would be attempting to carry out the day-to-day chores of national administration in an environment of

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political urgency and economic chaos and to organize national elections handicapped by differing points of view among the coalition members and lack of popular consensus. As the elections approached, the in-fighting among coalition partners would almost inevitably escalate to the point where the coalition itself might be seriously jeopardized. If the elections could be pulled off, it is doubtful (given the present attitudes of hardcore oppositionists) that they would have any more meaning or ultimate utility than the elections which used to be held periodically in South Vietnam.

(C) The evolution of the attitude of the military in coming weeks thus becomes critical. At the moment, senior officers in Shiraz appear to view their mission in very narrow terms. Not long ago Shiraz's martial law administrator described himself as a neutral force standing between the government and opponents who wish to attack it violently. He scrupulously avoided condemning opposition as such, however, claiming it is not his job to judge political issues. These latter require political solutions which, he said, can only be found in Tehran. Such an attitude can be tenable over the longer term only if the required solutions are indeed found. And in the case of Iran that is the rub. If a mutually derived compromise between the Shah and the majority of his people is not possible, an outside force will sooner or later have to impose one. The military, given its natural distaste for political turmoil of any sort and its coercive power, becomes the obvious candidate for this task.

(C) In this instance, assumption by the military of the role of political arbitrator might follow one of two general courses. Conventional wisdom would seem to be on the side of a more conservative approach in which the military simply takes on responsibility for both keeping the peace and seeing to it that the business of government is carried out. This would require much greater direct intervention in areas other than law enforcement than has been the case so far under the Azhari government. The need for legitimacy and perhaps sentiment would seem to favor retention of the Shah, although probably more for window dressing than anything else, under such an approach. However, keeping him on the throne would almost surely mean continuation of considerable popular opposition to the government.

(C) While there are certainly precedents for unpopular military regimes, and some of them have demonstrated remarkable viability, popular opposition is not something that is usual-

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ly courted for its own sake. Indeed, members of the military like to be liked no less than anyone else. This fact, coupled with the somewhat messianic role often tempting to military elites in the third world, might prompt the military here to act as an "honest broker" between the Iranian people and the Shah many of them are attempting to overthrow. Such a scenario could entail an invitation from the military to the monarch to take an extended vacation abroad pending resolution of the political situation in Iran, a recommendation that he abdicate in favor of his son and a council of regents, or simply elimination of the Pahlavi dynasty in response to the popular will.

(C) Whatever the ultimate outcome of events here, however, it seems almost certain that the military will figure prominently in it. Our national interests will be best served by elimination of the unrest which has proven so disruptive in recent months. A more central role for the Iranian military in directing government affairs will not guarantee such an outcome, and certainly any attempt on our part to influence the political process in that direction would be fraught with considerable risk. Similarly, despite the Shah's obvious unpopularity, repudiation of him at this point would serve little purpose and most probably would be viewed by many, even among his opponents, as no more than great power cynicism. Nonetheless, it is extremely doubtful that the Shah will ever again be able to exercise the leadership role he once did. Further, it is far from inevitable that the ultimate political denouement in Iran, whether it be in favor of retention of the Shah or something else, would be inimical to our national interests. Under the circumstances, our best policy might well be to urge moderation and accommodation, while remaining alert to the possibility of external interference, but otherwise to let events reach their natural conclusion.

TOMSETH

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# TELEGRAM

1978 DEC -7 PM 12: 30

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL LIMDIS  
Classification

Page 2 of 11999  
MRN

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL LIMDIS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11999  
LIMDIS

ACTION: E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/7/98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P

TAGS: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IR

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION LEADERS RELEASED; DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED

SUMMARY: GOI RELEASED KARIM SANJABI AND DARIUS FOROUHAR EVENING  
DEC 6. PAIR WILL MEET WITH FRONT LEADERS DEC 7. NATIONAL FRONT  
(INF) WILL PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED FOR DEC 10  
(TASSUA). U.S. PROFESSOR COTTAM RUMORED IN IRAN. END SUMMARY.

1. DR. NASSER MINATCHI CALLED EMBOFF STEMPEL AT HOME AFTER  
CURFEW DEC 6 TO DISCUSS NEWS THAT GOI HAD RELEASED KARIM  
SANJABI AND DARIUS FOROUHAR. MINATCHI CONFIRMED RELEASE AND  
SAID HE HAD TALKED TO TWO MEN BY TELEPHONE. MEETING OF MAJOR  
NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS WAS SET FOR LATE AFTERNOON DEC 7 TO  
DISCUSS NEXT MOVES. MINATCHI NOTED GOI HAD MADE DECISION TO  
RELEASE PAIR ON DEC 4, AND RELEASE WAS BEING VIEWED AS GESTURE  
OF GOODWILL, AT LEAST BY MODERATE INF LEADERS. LIBERATION  
MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) CONTACT TOLD EMBOFF MORNING DEC 7 THAT  
RELEASE WAS "INTERESTING" BUT DID NOT CHANGE MUCH AND ASKED TO

DRAFTED BY: POL:JDS  
DRAFTING DATE: 12-7-78  
TEL. EXT.:  
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POL:GBLambrakis

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OPTIONAL FORM 1  
(Formerly FS-4)  
January  
Dept. of

50152-107

GET IN TOUCH MORNING DEC 8.

2. MINATCHI SAID INF HAD ALREADY MADE PLANS TO PARTICIPATE  
IN LARGE DEMONSTRATION BEING ORGANIZED BY AYATOLLAH  
TALEQANI TO BEGIN AT 9 A.M. DEC 10. ACCORDING TO  
MINATCHI, DEMONSTRATION WILL BEGIN NEAR SHANAZ SQUARE,  
AT EAST END OF SHAH REZA AND MOVE WEST, BEING JOINED BY  
GROUPS WHICH WILL FORM UP AT OTHER LOCATIONS IN CITY.  
MINATCHI SAID IDEA WAS TO HAVE MASSIVE EFFORT; COMMITTEE  
FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) HAD  
PLANNED SEPARATE HUMAN RIGHTS MARCH FOR SAME DAY BUT HAD  
GIVEN UP IDEA WHEN RELIGIOUS LEADERS OPTED FOR LARGE-  
SCALE, ALL-HANDS EFFORT. MINATCHI THOUGHT MOST OPPOSITION  
GROUPS WOULD PARTICIPATE.

3. EMBOFF WAS CALLED FROM LONDON BY JOURNALIST WHO WISHED  
TO CONFIRM STORY THAT U.S. PROFESSOR RICHARD COTTAM, WHO  
IS CLOSE TO INF LEADERS, WAS IN IRAN. EMBOFF EXPRESSED  
IGNORANCE OF MATTER. TO BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, COTTAM IS  
NOT HERE. WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF DEPARTMENT COULD  
DISCREETLY CONFIRM HIS PRESENCE IN PITTSBURGH.

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM 152a/H  
(Formerly FS-413(H))  
January 197  
Dept. of Stat

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Ali AMINI  
(Phonetic: ahneeNEE)

IRAN

Former Prime Minister

Addressed as:  
Dr. Amini

A moderate and an anti-Communist, Ali Amini has been attempting to return to office since shortly after he resigned under extreme pressure following 14 months as Prime Minister during 1961-62. He has no real power base, but he has many friends in the opposition and might be acceptable as the leader of a national conciliation government. Two possibly insurmountable factors working against him are his personal and political estrangement from the Shah for almost two decades and the widespread--though apparently invalid--suspicion in Iran that he is a pawn of the United States. (In truth, he blamed the United States for bringing about his 1962 resignation from office and subsequently commented that this country was a bad enemy and a worse friend.) Recently, the Shah did sound out Amini on the possibility of accepting the prime ministership, but Amini insisted on control of the armed forces and SAVAK (National Intelligence and Security Organization), conditions that would have left the monarch powerless. (S)

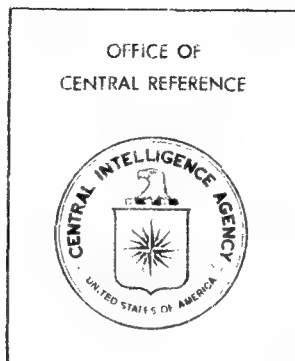
#### Amini's Program

If his past record and recent public and private statements are true indications of his beliefs, Amini would be a reformer rather than a revolutionary, if he became Prime Minister again. He refuses to condone anarchy and would continue martial law--with significantly less resort to force--for an indefinite period. He would take whatever measures were necessary to keep the oil fields operating. He would dissolve the present Parliament and hold new elections to establish a healthy democratic climate in which the needs

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of the people could be met in accordance with the law. He favors a government of technicians but would probably have to include a sampling of politicians and religious representatives if they helped him back to power. Flaming much of the present crisis on ill-conceived economic policies and erratic economic planning, he would probably cut defense spending to finance additional development. He would attempt to adopt policies--such as further land reform--that would encourage a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. He would also attempt to halt the flight of capital out of the country. He says he would investigate all charges of official corruption over the past 15 years and prosecute all offenders. In early 1978 Amini was supporting the Shah's continuance in power; by September he was "regretfully" calling for his resignation; and in early November he seemed bent on a constitutional monarchy--at least for the present. (S)

#### Early Life and Career

Amini has a doctorate in law and economics from the University of Paris. After a series of judicial and governmental financial posts, he was elected to Parliament in 1947. He has served as Minister of National Economy (1950-51), of Finance (1953-55), and of Justice (1955). He was Ambassador to the United States during 1955-58. (U)

When Amini became Prime Minister in May 1961, Iran was in the midst of its most acute political crisis since 1953. He dissolved Parliament, announced sweeping reforms, and arrested numerous military and government officials on charges of corruption. His tenure was a whirlwind of reform with little support from anyone except the Shah--and that was uncertain. Amini accomplished a great deal; but in July 1962, differences with the Shah, a financial-budgetary crisis, civil disorders related to the postponement of elections, and personal exhaustion led to his resignation. (C)

After his resignation, Amini was kept under police surveillance and prevented from opposition political activity--he was threatened with prosecution for corrupt land dealings that apparently

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involved his wife and other family members. (He seems to be personally honest.) In the late 1960s, the government sought to discredit him with the old charges of corruption and for serving as an agent for foreign oil companies. He apparently spent the next decade managing and increasing his substantial, inherited wealth and exploring ways to return to power. (C)

Personal Data

Amini, 71, sometimes speaks without considering the consequences, and he may have a vindictive streak. He has a good sense of humor and is an intelligent conversationalist. He has traveled widely in the United States, Europe and the Middle East. His mother was a member of the Qajar dynasty that ruled Iran until the father of the present Shah helped overthrow it in 1921. Amini speaks fluent French and adequate English. (C)

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IRAN

Karim SANJABI  
(Phonetic: sanjaBEE)

Secretary General,  
Executive Committee,  
National Front (since  
September 1978)

Addressed as:  
Mr. Sanjabi

OFFICE OF  
CENTRAL REFERENCE



On 23 August 1978, Karim Sanjabi announced the resurrection of the National Front coalition of the 1950s as the Iran National Front (usually referred to as the National Front--NF). The present NF, while untested in terms of popular support, is the largest and most extensively organized political opposition group in Iran. Sanjabi describes the new NF as a formal organization but not a formal political party. The old NF supported Prime Minister Mohammad Mosadeq in his power struggle with the Shah. After the downfall of Mosadeq in 1953, many NF members fled the country and moved to Europe or the United States; Sanjabi stayed in Iran. In 1977, after many years of enforced inactivity and in response to indications of political liberalization, he began the task of rejuvenating the NF. (C)

In his August 1978 announcement, Sanjabi bitterly attacked the Shah personally and called his political liberalization program a sham. In later statements he declared that the NF would boycott any future elections unless they were "free," and he demanded an investigation into the fortunes amassed by some Iranians. He said that he had no objection to the continuation of the monarchy--provided that it was a truly constitutional one--and that the government would have to choose between real democracy and military rule. Sanjabi declared that the NF demanded three elements in any future government: nationalism, democracy and socialism. (U)

In October 1978 Sanjabi flew to Paris to see exiled religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whose following far outnumbered that of the NF. There they issued a joint statement that contained three points: the monarchy must not be

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supported; the "national-Islamic movement" could not approve an illegal monarchy; the government should be based on democratic principles approved by a referendum. Sanjabi returned to Iran on 10 November and issued a hardline statement rejecting any coalition or cooperation with the Shah and the government; he claimed that he had reached an understanding (and he may have formed an alliance) with Khomeini. On the following day he was arrested, a government action that clearly was meant to encourage moderate opposition politicians and to discourage those opposition leaders who were considering overthrowing the Shah. Sanjabi was released on 6 December. (C)

#### The National Front

The NF is an umbrella organization of several groups whose members are mostly white-collar, middle-class professionals. NF members are generally united in calling for the Shah's adherence to the Constitution of 1906, but they differ widely otherwise. Some are willing to work with the Shah in the hope of obtaining some power in the projected June 1979 elections; others are willing to participate in the elections but want to reduce the Shah's powers substantially; and the most radical members want the Shah to step down. Sanjabi apparently decided to cast his lot with the NF's most radical component, and this decision led to his meeting with Khomeini and his subsequent arrest. (C)

#### Early Life and Career

Karim Sanjabi was born in 1904. A Kurd, he is a member of the Sanjabi tribe. At the age of 13, he was exiled with other members of the tribe to Baghdad for three years. (During World War II he and some relatives, including his father, were arrested by the British occupation forces; to this day Sanjabi detests the British and the military.) He received a law degree from Tehran University in 1928 and then spent the next seven years in France, where he received a doctorate in law from the University of Paris. (His thesis was entitled *Agricultural Reform in Iran*.) Returning to Iran, he entered the Ministry of Education in 1935, then moved to the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In the mid-1940s he helped found the Iran Party, which later became a major component of the NF. A

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successful and highly paid attorney in Tehran, he became dean of the Law Faculty of Tehran University in 1944 and vice president of that faculty in 1946. (C)

An early supporter of Mosadeq, Sanjabi worked closely with him during the period of his ascendancy. After the Prime Minister was overthrown, Sanjabi went into hiding. Later he was removed from his university position and imprisoned. On his release, he stayed out of politics for a while. He resumed political activity in 1960, however, and became a member of the Central Committee of the Iran Party; he also returned to the university. He was arrested again in 1961, released, rearrested in 1963, and released in 1965. Emerging from this last imprisonment physically and mentally exhausted, he returned to Tehran University as a professor but avoided political activity. He remained out of the limelight until the events of 1978 permitted the NF to regroup after a hiatus of 25 years. (C)

#### Personal Data

Sanjabi is soft spoken but direct. He speaks Kurdish, French, and Arabic and reads a little English. Sanjabi is married. He and his wife, Fakhri, have three children. (U)

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NOFORN

Naser MINATCHI  
(Phonetic: meeNAchee)

IRAN

National Front Leader

Addressed as:  
Mr. Minatchi

Lawyer and human rights activist Naser Minatchi is one of two "bosses" of the Tehran bazaar, a traditional power base of the Islamic opposition. He is also treasurer of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom (CDHRF). As head of the board of directors of the Hoseyenyeh Ershad Religious Center in Tehran, he has for some time been a behind-the-scenes supporter of the moderate religious opposition leaders, and he is a close friend of Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari. (The center was recently reopened after being closed five years ago because of speeches made there against the Shah.) (S)

The sensible and moderate Minatchi supported the regime of Prime Minister (August-November 1978) Jafar Sharif-Emami and asserted that the moderate religious opposition should work with the government toward political liberalization. He believes that the Shah is the protector of Iran against anarchy and Communism. In October 1978 he traveled to Paris to see religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and he is now looking for a way around Khomeini's extremist demands. He believes that Khomeini's demands can be defused and the Constitution saved if the moderate religious leaders support a program whereby the Shah leaves the country and a council of state takes over that would support a government of national reconciliation with a mandate to hold elections as soon as possible. (S)

Minatchi has long felt that his human rights efforts have left him "exposed," and as "protection" he has been doggedly seeking official US endorsement of his activities. He visited Washington in August 1978 for talks with human rights officials at the State Department. He has been candid and informative with US Embassy officials in Tehran. (S)

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Medhi PIRASTEH  
(Phonetic: peeRAsteh)

IRAN

Leader, Constitutional  
Defenders Front (since  
August 1978)

Addressed as:  
Mr. Pirasteh

Medhi Pirasteh is a flamboyant opportunist. When he founded the Constitutional Defenders Front as his own political group, claiming support from 300 Iranians, he announced that its purpose was "to fight for the cause of effective implementation of the Constitution in compliance with the teaching of Islam." In an October 1978 conversation with US officials, he said that his program included reaching an accommodation with the religious opposition that would separate it from other anti-Shah elements--and presumably ally it with him; pursuing a more effective anticorruption campaign; and reforming bureaucratic procedures in order to benefit the common people. (C)

Pirasteh has good relations with the Shi'a community and claims to have secured the release from jail of several followers of exiled religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Pirasteh has wanted to be Prime Minister for many years and allegedly has good contacts in the Palace, but his last important government positions were as Ambassador to Iraq during 1964-67 and to Belgium during 1967-71--posts he himself considered exile. He seems to be well disposed toward the United States, but this attitude may result from a belief that this country has considerable influence in internal Iranian affairs. Some US Embassy officers in Tehran suspect that he is a British agent. (C)

#### Career

Pirasteh claims to have a doctorate from Tehran University, but he probably has just a law degree. After 14 years in the court system and the Ministry of Justice, he was appointed public

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prosecutor in Tehran in 1946. He quickly showed a talent for graft, embezzlement, political intrigue, and doing favors for the right people, including several associated with Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister. Entering Parliament in 1948, he proved to be a staunch follower of the Shah during the latter's battles with Prime Minister (1951-53) Mohammad Mosadeg. Later, as governor general of Fars (1959-61) and Khuzestan (1962-63), he was an effective administrator with a flair for adopting popular causes. He served as Minister of Interior in 1963. (C)

Personal Data

Pirasteh, about 71, is devious, dishonest, intellectually shallow, long-winded, publicity hungry, boastful and sometimes crude. He is a man of action, however, and he does have a record of some accomplishment. He speaks adequate English, but he is more comfortable using French. (C)

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IRAN

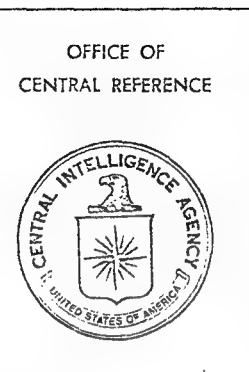
Ahmad BANI-AHMAD  
(Phonetic: bahnee AHmahd)

Leader, Unity for  
Freedom Party

Addressed as:  
Mr. Bani-Ahmad

Ahmad Bani-Ahmad, a veteran educator and a member of the Majles (lower house of Parliament) since 1975, resigned his seat as Deputy from Tabriz on 9 November 1978 to protest government policies. A political gadfly, he has been critical of recent governments. He disputed casualty figures published by the government of then Prime Minister Jafar Sharif-Emami after demonstrations in September 1978 and went on a hunger strike that lasted until the government resigned. In October he called for the scrapping of plans to purchase two nuclear reactors from France, charging that corruption and irregularities were involved in the decision to make the purchase. Bani-Ahmad favors the formation of a Cabinet of national unity as a means of returning stability to the country, and he has blamed the government of Prime Minister Qolam Reza Azhari for failing to end internal disturbances. He is politically ambitious and appears to have channels of communication to other political leaders and to the bazaars, traditional Islamic centers of power. (C)

A former member of the now moribund Resurgence of the People of Iran (RPPI) Party, created by the Shah to advance his Shah-people revolution, Bani-Ahmad announced the formation of his own political group in July 1978 but did not announce his withdrawal from the RPPI until August 1978, when he became convinced that he could withdraw with impunity and create his own party. Like other new Iranian parties, his Unity for Freedom Party--leftist with socialist leanings--is largely elitist, has few adherents, and is without a program. In October, while in Rome attending a "Non-Communist Iranian Students Congress," Bani-Ahmad announced that the party would apply for membership in the Socialist International. (C)



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Bani-Ahmad was born into a well-known and respected family in Rezaiyeh. After receiving a diploma in literature from the Rezaiyeh Teachers College, he served successively as teacher, principal and superintendent of various area schools. During the 1950s, following completion of his military service, he was acting manager of the Education Department and director of the Religious Endowments Office. (C)

Bani-Ahmad, about 58, has written three books. He speaks Turkish and English. (U)

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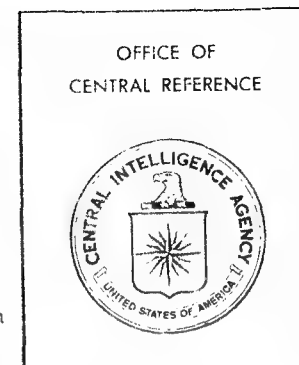
Abdol Karim LAHIJI  
(Phonetic: laheeJEE)

IRAN

National Front Leader

Addressed as:  
Mr. Lahiji

A leading dissident lawyer, Abdol Karim Lahiji has defended many human rights cases and is a prominent oppositionist member of the Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Human Rights. He was briefly hospitalized with bruises in April 1978, not long after he had defended 11 students in a civilian court trial. (C)



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Mohammad DERAKHSHESH  
(Phonetic: dehrakhSHESH)

IRAN

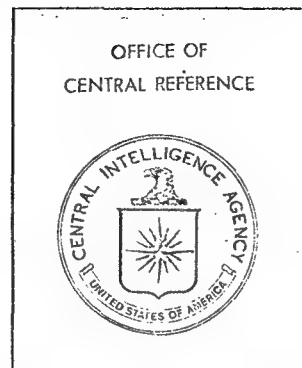
Former National Union  
Party Leader

Addressed as:  
Mr. Derakhshesh

Political opposition leader Mohammad Derakhshesh served briefly in 1961 as Minister of Education. In 1973 he was named spokesman of the then newly formed National Union Party, which favored implementation of the Shah-people revolution. Derakhshesh was also once a leader of the now disbanded Mehregan Club and was a close friend of the late Amir Asadollah Alam, former Prime Minister and close friend of the Shah. (S)

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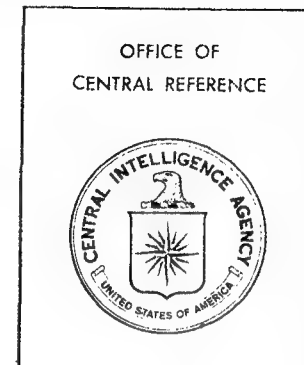
Kazem SHARIAT-MADARI  
(Phonetic: shareeAHT-mahdaREE)

IRAN

Religious Opposition  
Leader

Kazem Shariat-Madari is an ayatollah (prominent leader) and has long been one of the senior figures in Shi'a Islam. During the 11 months of demonstrations, civil disturbances and riots that started in January 1978, he has emerged as the public spokesman for the religious opposition and as the most influential Shi'a clergyman in the country. In September 1978 Shariat-Madari reportedly declared himself the "sole" Shi'a leader. If he has indeed assumed that title, it will undoubtedly cause friction with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who also claims it. (Khomeini has lived in exile for 14 years; he is an uncompromising foe of the Shah and calls for the end of the dynasty.) The religious community in Iran is more fragmented than Western observers had previously assumed, and jealousy among its leaders is common. These divisions and rivalries may have become less noticeable in the current anti-Shah campaign, but they remain. (C)

Unlike many of his fellow clergymen, Shariat-Madari is not opposed to modernization; he favors the incorporation of selected Western concepts into Islam and insists that he is not against all change. His central complaint against the government centers on Article 27 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 1907. This article provides for the examination of all legislation by five prominent religious leaders for conformity with Islamic law and implies clerical veto power over both the Parliament and the sovereign. In his drive toward modernization, the Shah has simply ignored Article 27; Shariat-Madari asserts that the spiritual leaders must be able to exercise their legally mandated voice in formulating legislation and supervising its implementation. (C)



ORIGINAL CL BY 004050  
REVW ON 2 Dec 1978  
EXT BYND 6 YRS BY 004050  
REASON CG3 (1)(3)(7)

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(cont.)

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In the past Shariat-Madari has been more willing to compromise with the Shah than has Khomeini. Caught up in the events of the last three months, however, he seems to have taken a more militant stance. He characterized the military government formed by Gen. Qolam Reza Azhari on 6 November 1978 as no different from its predecessors except in tactics, and he warned of grave consequences unless it was replaced by a civilian government. He has even begun to echo Khomeini's call for an Islamic republic in which the Shi'a clergy would exert great influence and power. He maintains that this form of government would be democratic because the overwhelming majority of Iranians are Muslims. (C)

#### Early Life and Career

The son of a clerical family, Kazem Shariat-Madari was born in about 1902. He began his early religious education in his hometown of Tabriz and later studied in the Iranian holy cities of Qom and Meshed and the Iraqi holy cities of Najaf and Karbala. In the early 1960s he won recognition as a mojtabah (religious scholar) and then achieved the status of a marjeh (a preeminent clergyman who has the right to command the faithful and whose religious instructions should be followed). Eventually he achieved the title of ayatollah. His main political base was in the Tabriz bazaar, but his influence radiated throughout Tabriz and Azerbaijan--bazaar merchants have contributed heavily to both Shariat-Madari and Khomeini. Shariat-Madari developed a secondary base in Qom, where he now heads a religious school that is one of the most respected in Shi'a Islam. (Qom is a bustling, commercial city southwest of Tehran, as well as a center of pilgrimages and learning; alcohol, gambling, movies, and women in modern dress are not permitted there. It was a clash between religious forces and police in Qom that began Iran's year of turmoil.) (C)

#### Personal Data

Shariat-Madari is a serene man who invariably dresses in black and light-gray robes and wears the black turban that marks him as a descendant of Ali, the leading imam of the Shi'as. He speaks Arabic and is an expert on Shi'a commercial law. The ayatollah is married; it is not known whether he has any children. (U)

8 December 1978

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O 281445Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2099  
INFO RUEHC/USINT RACHDAD 0799  
RUQMDH/AMCONSUL SHAHRAN 1891  
RUMJPG/USLO PEKING 0186  
RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1780  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4163  
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1159  
RURMCI/AMEMBASSY DOHA 2620  
RUSEQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3622  
RUQMDA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3848  
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5010  
RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0250  
RUCYCW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4733  
RUETC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4042  
RUQNAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1178  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1288  
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0596  
RUSBAF/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3271  
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3478  
RUFHRC/AMEMBASSY ROME 1150  
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0774  
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
RUSNAAA/USCINCPAC

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

E.O. 12065: GDS 12-8-78 (PERET, W.G.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: POLITICAL/SECURITY REPORT, DEC. 8, 1978

1. LAST NIGHT CONTINUED RELATIVE LULL IN DISTURBANCES IN TEHRAN. DEMONSTRATION WITH SHOOTING WAS REPORTED IN JALEH SQUARE AFTER CURFEW, BUT VERY LITTLE CHANTING OR SHOOTING WAS REPORTED IN NORTH TEHRAN. ARSONISTS THREW FIREBOMB INTO HOME OF ASST AIR ATTACHE BUT IT FAILED TO IGNITE. FIREBOMB WAS ALSO THROWN INTO BRITISH RESIDENCE BUT DID NO DAMAGE. CONSULATE SHIRAZ REPORTS INCREASED CROWD NOISE AND SHOOTING AFTER CURFEW FOR PAST TWO NIGHTS. LOCAL SECURITY FORCES SAY IT IS ALL TAPE RECORDED BUT THIS IS UNLIKELY, SINCE ELECTRICAL POWER HAS BEEN OUT FOR MUCH OF THIS PERIOD. SOME OF THE DISTURBANCES HAVE BEEN REAL. TROOPS HAVE BEGUN BREAKING INTO HOUSES, APPARENTLY IN PURSUIT OF DEMONSTRATORS. POWER OUTAGES HAVE BECOME UNUSUALLY LONG; LAST NIGHT'S OUTAGE, FROM 2100-2130 AND AGAIN STARTING AT 0330, WAS CONTINUING IN SOME SECTIONS OF TOWN AT MIDDAY. CONSULATE ISFAHAN REPORTS PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION YESTERDAY. BOMB EXPLODED NEXT TO APART OF AMCIT LAST NIGHT. HEAVY GUNFIRE WAS EVIDENT NIGHT OF DEC 5-6 BUT DID NOT RECUR LAST NIGHT. A FEW MORE SHOPS OPENED YESTERDAY, EVEN A BANK. MOST SHOPS REMAINED CLOSED. POWER WAS OF COURSE CUT AGAIN, AS IT WAS IN TEHRAN YOC. CONSULATE TABRIZ REPORTS MODERATELY HEAVY FIRING IN BAZAAR AND GOLFSTAN PARK AREA THIS MORNING.

2. TODAY REMAINS GENERALLY QUIET. NO DISTURBANCES ARE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 12052/1

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL  
CHRG: STAT 12/3/78  
APPRV: DCM:CMYAS  
DRETD: POL:WGPHEIT:JE  
CLEAR: 1.POL:GMLAMBPAK  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM  
ECON-2 PM USICA  
OR ADMIN SY-2  
AFOSI TAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

REPORTED IN TEHRAN. EMBASSY ANNOUNCEMENT THAT DEPENDENTS CAN FLY TO UNITED STATES AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE HAS INEVITABLY CAUSED A STIR. WE ARE EMPHASIZING THIS IS NO EVACUATION, BUT NERVOUS AMCIT COMMUNITY IS IN PART DETERMINED TO HEAR WHAT IT WANTS TO HEAR. SPECIAL PAN AM FLIGHT WILL LEAVE AT MIDNIGHT TONIGHT FOR ISTANBUL, CARRYING NONOFFICIAL AMCITS WHO WISH TO LEAVE AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE.

3. TWO DAYS BEFORE SUNDAY, BEING HERALDED AS GREAT DAY OF CONFRONTATION, THERE IS MUCH POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN DIRECTION OF NONVIOLENT COMPROMISE. THESE EFFORTS ARE SIGNIFICANT BUT WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL AS TO WHETHER THEY CAN DEFUSE SITUATION AT THIS LATE DATE. DR. NASSER MINATCHI OF COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM TOLD EMBASSY THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND GOI HAVE AGREED ON PEACEFUL SCENARIO FOR SUNDAY--MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES TO PERMIT MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION, AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO KEEP IT PEACEFUL AND RELIGIOUS, REPELLING ANY RADICAL ELEMENTS WHO ATTEMPT TO PARTICIPATE. AGREEMENT WAS OBTAINED THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF ALI AMINI. MARCHERS WILL ASSEMBLY AT EIGHT POINTS: SEYED KHADAN BRIDGE ON OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD; SHAHNAZ SQUARE; SHAHREZA AT OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD (THIS WILL BE THE TALEGHANI GROUP); ARK SQUARE, JUST NORTH OF BAZAAR (THIS WILL BE THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION GROUP); CUSTOMS HOUSE SQUARE; SHAH SQUARE EAST OF BAZAAR; KENNEDY SQUARE IN WEST TEHRAN, AND VANAK SQUARE. ALL GROUPS WILL HEAD FOR SHAHREZA AT OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD FOR MARCH WEST ON SHAHREZA TO SHAHYAD MONUMENT. MARCH IS EXPECTED TO LAST FROM 0900 TO 1500. (COMMENT: IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING SOME KHOMEINI PEOPLE, IF NOT KHOMEINI HIMSELF, SAYS IT HAS ACHIEVED AGREEMENT WITH REGIME. WE ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT ABILITY OF SHARIATMADARI OR OTHER RELIGIOUS MODERATES TO CONTROL RADICALS. IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT FOR PROVOCATEURS TO TRANSFORM MARCH INTO BLOODY CONFRONTATION.)

4. IRANIAN PRESS SOURCE, NOT CONSIDERED WHOLLY RELIABLE.  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

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O 081445Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2120  
INFO RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 0800  
RUCMDH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 1992  
RUMJPG/USLO PEKING 0187  
RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1791  
RUCMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4164  
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1190  
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0621  
RUSBOT/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3623  
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3849  
RUSBLX/AMEMBASSY KARUL 5011  
RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0251  
RUQMTW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4734  
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4043  
RUOMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1179  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1289  
RUCMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0597  
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3272  
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3479  
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1151  
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0775  
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
RUHQHQA/USCINCPAC  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

TOLD EMBOFF HE MET YESTERDAY WITH PRIMIN AZHARI, WHO SAID 50 PROMINENT PEOPLE CARRIED LETTER TO COM THE DAY BEFORE, ASKING AYATOLLARS TO CALM THE MULTITUDES. SOURCE SAID. SHARIATMADARI, GOLPAYAGANI, AND NAJAFI MAY ISSUE A COMMUNIQUE TO THAT EFFECT, URGING PEACEFUL, RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF MOHARRAM AND CAUTIONING AGAINST DESIGNS OF SUBVERSIVES. OTHER REPORTS WE HAVE (SEPTELS) INDICATE CONSIDERABLE DOUBT IN SHARIATMADARI'S MIND AS TO EXACT ACTIONS TO TAKE.

5. LMI REPRESENTATIVE TAVASSOLI (PROTECT) ALSO REPORTED SIGNS OF ACCOMMODATION TO EMBOFF TODAY, NOTING FOR EXAMPLE, THAT TROOPS HAVE MOVED AWAY FROM HEDAYAT MOSQUE AND OTHERS WHERE OPPOSITION NATIONAL FRONT MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD. HE CONFIRMED THAT UNDERGROUND CELLS ARE ARMING THEMSELVES BUT DOUBTED THEY WOULD TAKE ACTION. NATIONAL FRONT BELIEVES GENERAL KHOSRODAD IS ONE OF COMMITTEE OF TWELVE CONSPIRING AGAINST IT, AND ALLEGEDLY HELPED ARRANGE THE ARSON OF NOVEMBER 5. REGARDING LARGER QUESTION OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE, TAVASSOLI STATED LMI STILL INSISTS ON REMOVAL OF SHAH AS PRECONDITION. HE ALSO HOPED FOR A PEACEFUL MARCH ON SUNDAY AND CALLED ON USG "THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF THE ARMY, TO KEEP TROOPS FROM OPENING FIRE. EMBOFF SHARPLY DISPUTED CHARGE OF "CONTROL" AND SAID USG WILL USE WHATEVER INFLUENCE IT HAS FOR PEACE.

6. AYATOLLAH SHIEKH NOURI OF TEHRAN TOLD ANOTHER EMBOFF THAT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY WILL ACCEPT SHAH AS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH. REGARDING SUNDAY HE SAID RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY WANTS A PEACEFUL MARCH AND HOPES GOI FEELS THE SAME. A

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CHRG: STATE 12/8/78  
APPRV: DCM:GWNAA  
DRFTD: POL:WGP/RETT:JY  
CLFAR: 1.PCL:GMIAMBRAN  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM  
ECON-2 PM USIC  
OR ADMIN SY-2  
AFOSI DAO

TEHRAN 12050/2



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COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE, BUT SINCE OPPOSITION DOES NOT TRUST THE SHAH, US3 SHOULD GUARANTEE THE SETTLEMENT. ANOTHER SOURCE HAS TOLD US AYATOLLAH GHOMI OF MASHAD IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE FOR SHAH WITHIN CONTEXT OF A COMPROMISE SOLUTION.

7. COMMENT: ALL THIS SEEMS TO INDICATE RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION BACKING AWAY FROM BLOODY TEST OF STRENGTH. PROBLEMS REMAIN, HOWEVER. A PEACFUL MARCH, EVEN UNDER THE BEST SCENARIO, WOULD INEVITABLY INCLUDE BANNERS AND SHOUTS IN FAVOR OF KHOMEINI AND AGAINST THE SHAH. FURTHERMORE, NO WORD HAS COME FROM PARIS THAT KHOMEINI HIMSELF WANTS A PEACEFUL SUNDAY, AND GCI HAS NOT ALTERED PUBLIC STANCE THAT MARCHES WILL NOT BE PERMITTED. EVEN IF TROOPS HAVE NOT ENFORCED TOUGH LANGUAGE OF MARTIAL LAW DIRECTIVES TO THE LETTER, THEY HAVE CONSISTENTLY BROKEN UP CROWDS IN TEHRAN UP TO NOW, USUALLY FIRING OVER THEIR HEADS BUT OCCASIONALLY AT THEM. PERSIAN SUBTLETY IS CLEARLY AT WORK, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT IT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL FOR THE GOVERNMENT. SULLIVAN

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O 081633Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2105  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01

TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78  
APPRV: DCM: CWNAAS  
DRTD: POL: STESCUDERO:  
CLEAR: 1. POL: GMLAMBRAZ  
R: POL AMB DCM  
ECON-2 PM USICA  
OR ADMIN SY-2  
AFOSI DAO CRU

E.O. 12065:RDS-4 12-8-80 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINR, IR  
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH AYATOLLAH NOURI

REF: A) TEHRAN 11882 B) C-PR-8-40197

SUMMARY: EMBOFF MET WITH AYATOLLAH YAHYA ALLAMEH NOURI AT HOME OF PROMINENT BAZAARI HAJI KASHANI FOR THREE HOURS EVENING OF DECEMBER 7. AYATOLLAH EXPRESSED MODERATE VIEW OF POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO PRESENT IRANIAN POLITICAL CRISIS INCLUDING WILLINGNESS TO HAVE SHAH REMAIN CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH (BUT NOT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ARMED FORCES) PROVIDED U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO SERVE AS GUARANTOR OF SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. WITHOUT CONFIDING SPECIFIC INFORMATION REGARDING DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED FOR ASHURA, NOURI NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE ISLAMIC AND OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS THAT THEY SHOULD BE PEACEFUL. HE URGED SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS TO STAY HOME RATHER THAN JOIN IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE IRANIAN SOLDIERY. NOURI WAS RECEPTIVE TO IDEA THAT FURTHER MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITH EMBOFF AND BETWEEN EMBOFF AND OTHER IRANIAN AYATOLLAHS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF OPENED DISCUSSION WITH STATEMENT OF U.S. POSITION IN SUPPORT OF THE SHAH AND OF SHAH'S EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE RETENTION OF HIS POSITION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. EMBOFF NOTED THAT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT ALSO ENJOYED THE SUPPORT OF THE IRANIAN MILITARY LEADERS. AFTER LONG DISSESSATION ON THE STATE OF CONFLICT WHICH HAS TRADITIONALLY EXISTED BETWEEN THE MONARCHY AND THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT IN IRAN, NOURI STATED THAT THE FIRST PREFERENCE OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE WOULD BE THAT THE SHAH SHOULD LEAVE AND THAT THE MONARCHY SHOULD BE SUCCEEDED BY AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC. HOWEVER, IF THE GREAT POWERS AND OTHERS INSIST THAT THE SHAH MUST REMAIN AS A CONSTITUTIONAL FIGURE WHO WOULD RULE BUT NOT REIGN, THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP WOULD ACCEPT THIS. THERE MUST BE A RETURN TO THE 1906 CONSTITUTION, RATHER THAN THE PRESENT VERSION, WHICH HAS BEEN CORRUPTED THROUGH AMENDMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY. THIS WOULD PRECLUDE A ROLE FOR THE SHAH AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THIS AMENDMENT WAS ADDED AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAHLAVI CONTROL. MOREOVER, THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT TRUST THE SHAH TO UPHOLD HIS END OF ANY CONSTITUTIONAL PARGAIN BUT EXPECT THAT HE WOULD USE WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES ARISE TO RE-ESTABLISH HIS DICTATORIAL POWERS. THEREFORE, NOURI PROPOSED THAT THE UNITED STATES, AS THE FOREIGN POWER WITH THE GREATEST INFLUENCE OVER THE SHAH,

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ACT AS GUARANTOR OF THE SHAH'S GOOD FAITH IN ANY CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT.

2. PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ELECTION OR REFERENDUM, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT MUST BE DISSOLVED. NOURI SAID THAT ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP, ACTING TOGETHER, COULD ISSUE A CALL WHICH WOULD BE OBEYED BY THE MAJORITY OF SOLDIERS AND LOWER-RANKING OFFICERS, SO THE U.S. SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE MILITARY TO DICTATE THE SHAPE OF AN IRANIAN SETTLEMENT. FOLLOWING DISSOLUTION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST BE BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND ESTABLISH A GENERAL CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG THE PEOPLE. (SEVERAL TIMES IN THE CONVERSATION NOURI MADE THE POINT THAT, WHILE THE ISLAMIC CLERGY IS IN MANY WAYS THE LEADER OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, THEY ARE ALSO LED BY THE PEOPLE, AND THE CLERGY WOULD QUICKLY BE ABANDONED BY THE PEOPLE IF THEY SHOULD SUDDENLY PROVE TO BE TOO MODERATE OR OTHERWISE OUT OF STEP.) NOURI BELIEVED THE ESSENCE OF ANY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE A REVOLUTIONARY ISLAMIC COUNCIL OF 100-150 MEN WHO WOULD BE "INTRODUCED" TO THE PEOPLE BY THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP. THE COUNCIL WOULD BE MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY, THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT, AND "OTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF IRANIAN SOCIETY." ITS MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE (MANNER NOT PRESCRIBED) AND WHILE ITS DUTIES WERE SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT NOURI INTENDS THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE PRINCIPAL IRANIAN DECISION-MAKING BODY.

3. NOURI SAID THAT IRANIANS UNDER A CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM WOULD WANT TO RETAIN THEIR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND THE WEST WHILE KEEPING THEIR DISTANCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. HE HOPED THAT SOME MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP COULD BE DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE PRICE OF OIL AND THE PRICE OF ITEMS IMPORTED FROM THE WEST BY IRAN, BUT HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THIS STATEMENT. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION, NOURI SAID THAT THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IS NOT CONCERNED BY THE PRESENCE OF SOME LEFTIST ADVISORS AROUND KHOMEINI.

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THERAN 12055/1

O 081633Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2106  
BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78  
APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS  
DEFTD: POL:STESCUDERO  
CLEAR: 1.POL:GMLAMBRAX  
OR POL AMB DCM  
ECON-2 PM USICA  
OR ADMIN SY-2  
AFOSI DAO CRU

E.O. 12065:RDS-4 12-8-88 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINR, IR  
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH AYATOLLAH NOURI

PERHAPS 97 PERCENT OF ALL IRANIANS ARE MUSLIM AND OF THE FEW WHO CLAIM ALSO TO BE COMMUNISTS, SURELY NO MORE THAN 5 PERCENT, THEIR ALLEGIANCE IS TO A SORT OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM RATHER THAN TO THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS FOR COMMUNISM. ISLAM RUNS TOO DEEP IN THE IRANIAN PSYCHE TO BE ROOTED OUT IN FAVOR OF COMMUNISM. FEARS THAT THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH WOULD LEAD TO A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN IRAN ARE GROUNDLESS AND HAVE BEEN FOSTERED BY THE SHAH'S REGIME IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAXIMIZE WESTERN SUPPORT FOR IMPERIAL SURVIVAL.

4. EMBOFF THEN ASKED, HYPOTHEETICALLY, WHAT ROLE KHOMEINI WOULD PLAY SHOULD AN AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON CHANGES TO THE IRANIAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE WHICH ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MASS OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE INTERNAL ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT? IF MOST OR ALL OTHER IRANIAN POLITICAL ELEMENTS SHOULD AGREE TO AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH INCLUDES A PLACE FOR THE SHAH CONTRARY TO KHOMEINI'S DEMANDS, WOULD THE INTERNAL ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP GO TO KHOMEINI AND TELL HIM THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED, WITH THEIR SUPPORT, REGARDLESS OF HIS POSITION? NOURI, PERHAPS NOT WANTING HIS FOLLOWERS TO UNDERSTAND, REPLIED IN BROKEN ENGLISH, "THAT WOULD BE DANGEROUS AND VERY DIFFICULT. SOMETHING WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE."

5. DEMONSTRATIONS: NOURI TWICE EVADED DIRECT ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS REGARDING WHEN AND WHERE THE ASHURA DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TO TAKE PLACE. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT THE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NATIONAL FRONT AND ALL ARE AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD BE PEACEFUL IN NATURE. (COMMENT: THIS ACCORDS WITH INFO EMBOFF HAS RECEIVED FROM BAZAARIS. IT COULD BE NO MORE THAN A SMOXESCREEN FOR COVERT VIOLENCE WHICH COULD BE BLAMED ON THE GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, IF TRUE, A CONSCIOUS POLICY OF NONVIOLENCE DURING ASHURA WOULD APPEAR TO BE A STEP BY THE INTERNAL IRANIAN OPPOSITION AWAY FROM THE EXTREMIST POSITION ESPOUSED BY KHOMEINI. END COMMENT).

6. DURING DISCUSSION OF DEMONSTRATIONS, THE GROUP OF 13 BAZAARIS AND YOUTHS IN ATTENDANCE ON NOURI WAS JOINED BY ANOTHER YOUTH WHO REPORTED A TALE OF VIOLENCE RECENTLY COMMITTED UPON AN IRANIAN WOMAN AND HER CHILDREN BY THE TROOPS. THIS INSPIRED KASHANI, WHO IS SOMETHING OF A FIREBRAND ANYWAY (SEE REFTEL A), TO RECOUNT GORY DETAILS OF TWO ALLEGED INCIDENTS IN TEHRAN AND ONE IN THE HERMAN DIS-

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TRICT TOWN OF JIROFT IN WHICH SOLDIERS COMMITTED ATROCITIES. EMOTIONS RISING, THE YOUNGER ATTENDANTS REQUESTED THE AYATOLLAH TO ORDER TO OPPOSE THE TROOPS WITH GUNS. NOURI, WHO NEVER RAISED HIS VOICE DURING THE DISCUSSION BUT WHOSE AUTHORITY, AT LEAST OVER THIS SMALL GROUP, REPLIED THAT SUCH A COURSE WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE. ACCORDING TO NOURI, THERE ARE THREE POSSIBILITIES ON ASHURA: THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BUT ARE NOT SHOT BY THE SOLDIERS; THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BUT ARE SHOT; THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BY STAYING HOME. NOURI CLEARLY PREFERRED THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE. THE SECOND, HE SAID, WOULD BE SUICIDAL AS THE GOVERNMENT FORCES WOULD REPLY TO GUNFIRE WITH TANKS AND OTHER MODERN HEAVY WEAPONS. "WHEN I ORDER YOU TO FIGHT THE GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS, I WANT YOU TO BE AS WELL ARMED AS THEY ARE." HOWEVER, EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE SHIA DEMONSTRATE IN THE STREETS ON ASHURA. IF EVERYONE REMAINED HOME THE WORLD WOULD KNOW THAT THIS WAS DUE TO THE TYRANNY OF THE PRESENT IRANIAN REGIME AND THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A GREATER AND MORE EFFECTIVE DEMONSTRATION THAN ANYTHING WHICH COULD BE STAGED IN THE STREETS. THE EYES OF THE ENTIRE ISLAMIC WORLD ARE ON IRAN AND ON THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE FAITH AND THE MONARCHY. IF WE ARE DEFEATED IN IRAN, IT WILL CONSTITUTE A DEFEAT FOR ALL OF ISLAM AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN MUSLIM NATIONS MIGHT BECOME EMBOLDENED TO ACT AGAINST THE FAITH. (COMMENT: IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT THE AYATOLLAH WAS INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF THE ASHURA DEMONSTRATIONS. HOWEVER, AT THIS LATE DATE EXHORTATIONS TO HIS PEOPLE TO REMAIN HOME ON DECEMBER 10 WOULD APPEAR TO BE OF LITTLE USE. END COMMENT.)

7. FINALLY, NOURI EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT VIOLENCE ON ASHURA MIGHT ORIGINATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE COULD IMPERIL ANY CHANCES FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE IRANIAN ARMED FORCES AND THE SHAH TO PREVENT FIRING ON THE DEMONSTRATORS. EMBOFF MADE NO COMMENT ON THIS REQUEST.

8. EMBOFF SHOWED NOURI A LETTER, REPUTEDLY FROM AYATOLLAH KHOI IN NAJAF, URGING THE PEOPLE TO BEHAVE WITH MODERATION IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REGIME AND ASKED IF THIS

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2107

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78

APPRV: DCM:OWNAAS

DRFTD: POL:STESCUDE

CLEAR: 1.POL:GMLAMBR

OR: POL AMB D

ECON-2 PM USI

OR ADMIN SY-2

AFOSI DAO CRU

WOULD AFFECT THE CONDUCT OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS, NOURI CLAIMED THAT THE LETTER IS A REISSUE BY KHOI'S FOLLOWERS OF A TWO-YEAR-OLD ORIGINAL. HE THEN NOTED THAT THE EMPRESS' EARLIER VISIT TO KHOI HAD BEEN ARRANGED BY THE GO IFAG WITHOUT ADVANCE WARNING TO KHOI. THE AYATOLLAH WAS OBLIGED TO RESPOND TO COMPLAINTS FROM IRANIANS THAT HE ROSE FROM HIS SICKBED TO FIND FARAH AT HIS DOOR AND WOULD NOT HAVE AGREED TO SEE HER HAD HE KNOWN IN ADVANCE THAT SHE WAS COMING. (COMMENT: WHILE REST OF THIS STORY ACCORDS WITH EMBASSY INFO FROM OTHER SOURCES, THIS IS FIRST ASSERTION THAT KHOI LETTER WAS REISSUE BY OTHERS OF OLD ORIGINAL.)

9. HAVING REF B IN MIND, EMBOFF ASKED IF NOURI COULD SUPPLY SOME TRAINING MATERIALS USED AT VARIOUS ISLAMIC THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS IN IRAN. NOURI AGREED TO DO SO IN ORDER TO INCREASE USG UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAM. AGED ABOUT FORTY AND SOMEWHAT PLUMP, NOURI IS A PRODUCT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS OF QOM, MASHAD, AND NAJAF. HOWEVER, HE ALSO HOLDS TWO BACHELORS DEGREES AND A DOCTORATE IN ISLAMIC LAW FROM TEHRAN UNIVERSITY. HE NOTED THAT SOME 25 YEARS OF STUDY WERE REQUIRED BEFORE HE WAS RECOGNIZED AS AN AYATOLLAH AND THAT, IN ADDITION TO LEARNING, A REPUTATION FOR GOOD WORKS IS ALSO A PREREQUISITE. IN NOURI'S CASE, HE HAS ENDOWED A HOSPITAL, FIVE CLINICS, AND SEVERAL LESSER RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN HIS HOME DISTRICT. NOURI IS BY NO MEANS THE STEREOTYPE OF THE OBSCURANTIST MULLAH WHICH EMBOFF HAD RATHER EXPECTED. HE WAS WELL-INFORMED, MODERATE AND CLEARLY IN TUNE WITH OTHER OPPOSITION ELEMENTS. HE WAS IMPRISONED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHICH PROBABLY INCREASED HIS STANDING AMONG THE ISLAMIC HIERARCHY. HE WAS PRINCIPAL AYATOLLAH AT JALEH SQUARE DURING BLOODY CLASH ON SEPT 8. REPORTEDLY, HE TRIED TO HAVE CROWD DISPERSE IN FACE OF MILITARY BUT WAS IGNORED. IT IS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO ASSESS HIS IMPORTANCE RELATIVE TO OTHER SECOND-RANK AYATOLLAHS SUCH AS TALAGHANI. HE TRIES TO PROJECT A HUMBLE AIR AND IS NOT ARROGANT IN HIS BEHAVIOR TOWARDS HIS FOLLOWERS. HOWEVER, EMBOFF SUSPECTS THAT MUCH OF HIS HUMILITY IS A SHAM REQUIRED BY HIS POSITION. NOURI IS CLEARLY PROUD OF HIS LEARNING AND THE FACT THAT HE HAS PUBLISHED 17 BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO EUROPEAN AND ORIENTAL LANGUAGES. HE IS KNOWN TO HAVE STRONG ANTI-ISRAELI VIEWS (AS DO HIS COLLEAGUES) AS EVIDENCED BY HIS PAMPHLET ON ISRAELI "CRIMES" IN LEBANON (POUCHED TO INR/OIL/B BECAUSE IT CONTAINS GOOD PHOTO OF NOURI) BUT ONLY REFERENCE TO ISRAEL WHICH AROSE IN CONNECTION WAS HIS REMARK THAT UNREPRESENTATIVE IRANIAN REGIME HAD DECIDED TO INTERVENE IN WAR IN DOFAR AND TO SELL OIL TO ISRAEL WITHOUT CONSULTING PEOPLE.

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10. AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION, NOURI AGREED TO ASSIST EMBOFF IN MEETING OTHER AYATOLLAHS. NOURI NOTED THAT HE WOULD ALSO WANT TO MEET WITH EMBOFF AGAIN, POSSIBLY FOR SIX OR SEVEN HOURS, ONCE HE HAD HAD TIME TO THINK ABOUT RESULTS OF THIS DISCUSSION. SULLIVAN  
BT  
#2055

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 12055/3

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CONFIDENTIAL

10 Dec 78 017025

**ACTION**

NNNNV ESB035BRA525  
RR RUQMR  
DE RUEHC #1262/01 3440004  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
R 002033Z DEC 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 0622  
BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 311262/01

P.O. 12065: CDS 12/8/84 (CLEMENT, CARL)

TAGS: PINT, IR

ACTION:  
POL 3  
INFO:  
AND  
DCN  
ECOR 2  
FM  
OR  
ICA  
ADM  
CRU 2  
S CAN

SUBJECT: EGBAL'S GAME PLAN FOR SAVING IRAN  
1. CONFIDENTIAL: ENTIRE TEXT--  
SUMMARY: EGBAL PLANS TO START POLITICAL NEWSPAPER IN WHICH, WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE SHAH AND THE GOVERNMENT, HE WILL FIRST ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIME TO ESTABLISH THE PAPER'S CREDIBILITY, AND THEN SET OUT TO DESTROY KHOMEINI AS INFLUENTIAL OPPOSITION LEADER. EGBAL FEELS THAT SHAH CAN PLAY USEFUL ROLE IN BOTH IMMEDIATE TIME FRAME AND POSSIBLY DURING NEXT YEAR BY EXERCISING INFLUENCE OVER THE MILITARY, AND AS THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY FIGURE WHILE OTHER POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE DEVELOPED. AT THE SAME TIME, EGBAL IS QUITE READY TO DUMP THE SHAH IF THIS WILL HELP TO SOLVE THE PRESENT CRISIS. HE IS CONVINCED THAT IF THE MILITARY REMAIN IN POWER FOR 6 MONTHS, THEY WILL REFUSE TO GIVE UP POWER. EGBAL FEELS THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT GENERAL DJAM RETURN AT SOME POINT AND TAKE CHARGE OF THE MILITARY AGAIN. HE SEES PRESENT JUSTICE MINISTER NAJAFI AS EXCELLENT, CLEAN CANDIDATE FOR NEXT PRIME MINISTER, PROVIDING NAJAFI RESIGNS FROM PRESENT GOVERNMENT BEFORE HE BECOMES TAINTED.

2. KHOSRO EGBAL (PROTECT), BROTHER OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER AND MIOC CHIEF EGBAL, VISITED MEA/IRN ON DECEMBER 4 AND 6. HE SAID THAT HE INTENDS TO DO WHATEVER HE CAN TO SAVE THE NATION (BUT MADE NO SUCH STATEMENT REGARDING THE SHAH). HIS GAME PLAN IS BASED ON STARTING UP AGAIN A POLITICAL NEWSPAPER WHICH HE USED TO HAVE DURING EARLY WORLD WAR II DAYS. HE WILL DO SO ONLY WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE SHAH AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND CLAIM TO HAVE ENLISTED IMAM JOME OF TEHRAN AS HIS EMBASSY TO THE SHAH FOR THIS PURPOSE. FOR THE FIRST FEW WEEKS HE WOULD PLAN ON ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIME IN GENERAL IN A VIGOROUS FASHION, AND THE SHAH AS WELL. MORE GENTLY. ONCE HAVING ESTABLISHED THE CREDIBILITY OF HIS PAPER, HE WOULD THEN PROCEED TO HIS REAL PLAN.

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CONFIDENTIAL

HE IS TO TRY TO ELIMINATE KHOMEINI AS AN INFLUENTIAL OPPOSITION LEADER. EGBAL SAID THAT ONCE KHOMEINI'S INFLUENCE WAS REDUCED, THE OTHER MULLAHS COULD BE HANDLED BY PUTTING THEM OFF. HE RECOUNTED HOW HIS BROTHER, WHILE PRIME MINISTER AND NIJC CHIEF, HAD ALWAYS SPENT SIZEABLE SUMS OF MONEY ON THE MULLAHS. IN EGBAL'S VIEW, STOPPING SUCH PAYMENTS WAS GRAVEST ERROR THAT AMOUZEGAR MADE DURING HIS TIME AS PRIME MINISTER. EGBAL IS CONVINCED THAT ALL OF THIS CAN BE DONE WITHIN THE SPAN OF TWO MONTHS.

4. AFTER HE HAS MANAGED TO CUT DOWN KHOMEINI, EGBAL WOULD SEE THE RETURN OF RETIRED GENERAL DJAM TO HIS PREVIOUS POSITION AS CHIEF OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER STAFF. HE FEELS THIS IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL BECAUSE, IN HIS VIEW, DJAM IS THE ONLY ONE WHO COMMANDS THE RESPECT OF NOT ONLY THE MILITARY BUT THE SHAH AND CIVILIANS AS WELL. HE COULD EVEN SEE DJAM IN THE DUAL ROLE NOW PLAYED BY AZHARI. EGBAL SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO GENERAL DJAM IN LONDON. DJAM HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING TO HURT THE SHAH, BUT WOULD BE AVAILABLE IF THE NATION REQUESTED HIM. EGBAL'S PREFERENCE, HOWEVER, IS FOR A CIVILIAN AS PRIME MINISTER, AND HIS PRIME CANDIDATE FOR THAT POSITION IS THE PRESENT MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI. ACCORDINGLY, TO EGBAL, NAJAFI IS CLEAN AND HIGHLY RESPECTED. EGBAL MADE THE POINT THAT IF NAJAFI WERE TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER, HE WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN VERY SOON FROM THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, OPENLY DISAGREEING WITH ITS POLICIES. EGBAL SAID THAT WHEN NAJAFI TOOK ON HIS PRESENT JOB, HE HAD DEMANDED THAT THE POLICE, SAVAK, AND COURT OFFICIALS BE INSTRUCTED BY THE SHAH TO COOPERATE WITH HIM IN THE CORRUPTION INVESTIGATION. THE SHAH HAD AGREED, BUT NOTHING HAPPENED. FOUR DAYS LATER NAJAFI HAD SUBMITTED HIS RESIGNATION, AND HAD ONLY AGREED TO STAY ON AFTER THE CHIEF OF POLICE HAD ACTUALLY COME TO HIM AND TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE SHAH TO COOPERATE. EGBAL GAVE THIS AS ONE OF SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF WHAT HE TERMED AS THE CONTINUING INSINCERITY OF THE SHAH IN CARRYING OUT PROMISES AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION. EGBAL SAID THAT IF THE SHAH EVER DID BECOME SINCERE, HE COULD THEN GO ON TELEVISION AND CONVINCE THE PEOPLE OF THIS FACT, BUT THAT THE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE FOOLED.

4. EGBAL FEELS THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE SHAH DO AT LEAST TWO THINGS:

A) ABOLISH SAVAK AS AN ORGANIZATION. SOME OF ITS FUNCTIONS, COULD BE CARRIED OUT BY THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY:

B) ESTABLISH BY HIMSELF, RATHER THAN THROUGH THE THREE-MAN COMMITTEE, THE AMOUNT OF WEALTH THAT ROYAL FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE WRONGFULLY AMMASSED, AND CONFISCATE ALL OF THEIR PROPERTY IN IRAN AND TURN IT OVER TO THE PEOPLE. EGBAL ALSO FELT THAT THE SHAH SHOULD DO THE SAME WITH ALL OF HIS PROPERTY IN IRAN.

5. EGBAL HEATEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT IT WAS SILLY TO TALK ABOUT ANY NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THERE REALLY COULD BE NO COALITION UNDER THE PERSIAN WAY OF DOING THINGS. THERE WOULD JUST BE CONTINUOUS INFIGHTING AND BICKERING WITHOUT SOMEONE IN REAL COMMAND AUTHORITY. HE DID NOT FEEL THAT THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION BT #1262

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TEHRAN 0623

CONFIDENTIAL FINAL SECTION 07 02 STATE 311800/01

LEADERS HAD THE CAPACITY TO LEAD THE COUNTRY, AND ADDED THAT IN ANY CASE THEY DID NOT REPRESENT ANY LARGE GROUP OF FOLLOWERS. EGBAL FELT THAT A RELIGIOUS DOMINATED GOVERNMENT HAD NO CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING.

6. EGBAL IS VERY MUCH AFRAID THAT IF MILITARY CONTINUE IN GOVERNMENT FOR 6 MONTHS, THEY WILL NO LONGER BE WILLING TO GIVE UP THIS POWER. HE DOES NOT CONSIDER A MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO BE A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS FACING IRAN.

7. WHILE PLACING MOST OF THE BLAME FOR THE WAY THINGS HAVE TURNED OUT ON ALAM AND FOVEYDA, EGBAL IS READY TO LET THE SHAH GO IF THAT WILL HELP SOLVE THE PRESENT CRISIS. HE MADE THE POINT SEVERAL TIMES THAT ONE MAN CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO ENDANGER THE FUTURE OF AN ENTIRE NATION. AT THE SAME TIME, IF THIS CAN BE WORKED OUT, EGBAL CAN SEE A USEFUL ROLE FOR THE SHAH FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND POSSIBLY AS LONG AS ONE YEAR. THAT ROLE WILL BE TO MAINTAIN AUTHORITY OVER THE MILITARY AND TO ACT AS THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY FIGURE WHILE NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE CREATED. EGBAL DID NOT SEE ELECTIONS BY THEMSELVES AS PROVIDING ANY LASTING SOLUTION.

8. WHEN HE DID NOT IN SO MANY WORDS ASK FOR U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH, IT WAS NEVERTHELESS EVIDENT THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE SUCH SUPPORT. HE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH THE U.S. BEFORE HIS RETURN TO TEHRAN SOMETIME NEXT YEAR. CHRISTOPHER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 102243Z 1974

BT

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 311800

EXDIS

2.0.112465 GDS 12/13/74 (PRECHT, HENRY)

1405: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IN

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION PLANS FOR FUTURE

REF: TEHRAN, 1204

1. WE HAVE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTEL.

-- WILL THE CONRF REPRESENT OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS IN COALITION DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OR IN CONTACTS WITH THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS? (PAR 3 REFTEL).

-- IF THE SHAH IS TO AGREE TO A REGENCY COUNCIL AND THEN DEPART IRAN IS HE TO BE ALLOWED FIRST TO PICK THE MEMBERS OF THE REGENCY COUNCIL? (PAR 4).

-- IS HE ALSO TO BE ALLOWED TO PICK THE NEW CABINET? (PAR 4).

DOES THE CONRF EXPECT THE US AND UK AMBASSADORS TO PREPARE THE LISTS OF THE CABINET AND REGENCY COUNCIL TO PRESENT FOR HIS SELECTION? ARE THE AMBASSADORS EXPECTED TO PREPARE THE LIST AND URGE THE SHAH TO ACCEPT IT? (PAR 4).

AND IN THE EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT WAS PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH NEGOTIATING THE PEACEFUL MARCH OF REGENCY? OR OFFERS TO ALI AMINI; OTHER REPORTS HAVE MENTIONED I. AND ZAHEDI HAS TAKEN CREDIT. CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL EXDIS

62

ACTION:  
DCM-2  
INFO:  
AMD  
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ADM  
CRU-DUMNY  
1/CMH

EXDIS

*Return*  
CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12006

O 110048Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2137  
INFO RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1789  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4178  
RUHCHC/USINT BAGHDAD 8628  
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1198  
RUQMDH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 1908  
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 8629  
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3638  
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3857  
RUSELK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5817  
RUQMEH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 8257  
RUQMEV/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4743  
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4854  
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1187  
RUHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1295  
RUQMYT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 8628  
RUSBAZ/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3278  
RUTNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3487  
RUTHRQ/AMEMBASSY ROME 1105  
RUHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 8783  
RUSMAAA/USCINCPAC VAIHINGEN 6Z  
RUHQQA/USCINCPAC  
BT

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12006

E.O. 12065: GDS 12-11-84 (SULLIVAN, W.H.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR  
SUBJ: 17 POINT OPPOSITION PROGRAM

1. AT END OF THE DAY DECEMBER 10, SEVERAL PRESS SOURCES OBTAINED TEXT OF SEVENTEEN POINT PROGRAM ALLEGEDLY "ENDORSED" BY DEMONSTRATORS DURING SHAHYAD MONUMENT ASSEMBLY. WE HAVE NOT YET NOT BEEN ABLE TO VERIFY FACTS CONCERNING THIS PROGRAM, WHICH WAS APPARENTLY DISTRIBUTED TO PRESS BY ANTI-SHAH GROUPS. THERE ARE SOME REPORTS THAT IT WAS MERELY DISTRIBUTED DECEMBER 10 AND WILL BE "PROCLAIMED" DECEMBER 11.

2. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF PROGRAM AS PROVIDED EMBASSY BY LOCAL PRESS REPRESENTATIVE:

1. KHOMEINI IS THE LEADER
2. OVERTHROW OF REGIME
3. ISLAMIC REPUBLIC
4. DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
5. ELIMINATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT
6. IMPLEMENTATION OF RELIGIOUS DEMANDS
7. WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION
8. FULL WORKERS RIGHTS
9. END MISUSE OF POWER
10. AGRICULTURAL REFORM
11. FULL SUPPORT OF STRIKERS
12. ANTI-POVERTY
13. SHOOTING AT DEMONSTRATORS IS TREASON
14. CLAIMS THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IS BEHIND THE MOVEMENT ARE UTTER NONSENSE
15. MORE ON ISLAM

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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12006

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12006

18. RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS  
19. STRUGGLE SHALL CONTINUE.

3. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHO DREW UP THIS PROGRAM OR WHO SPONSORED IT AT THE DEMONSTRATION. IT HAS THE BARMARKS OF A KHOMEINI TRACT, BUT IS MORE MODERATE ON SEVERAL POINTS THAN THE USUAL KHOMEINI LINE. IT COULD, THEREFORE, EMANATE FROM THE MORE MODERATE OPPOSITION RIDING ON THE KHOMEINI WAVE. SULLIVAN  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE 8670

BT

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 313310

E.O. 12065: GDS (12/12/84 - PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: IR

SUBJECT: REGENCY COUNCIL

COULD YOU PLEASE GIVE US BY OPENING OF BUSINESS WASHINGTON TIME TOMORROW A STATEMENT OF THE BASIS IN IRANIAN LAW FO, THE IDEA OF THE REGENCY COUNCIL. WE SEE NO REFERENCE TO A REGENCY COUNCIL IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1906 OR THE SUPPLEMENTARY LAW OF 1907. PEREAPS WE DO NOT HAVE A VERSION THAT REFLECTS RECENT AMENDMENTS. IN ANY EVENT, COULD YOU TELL US WHAT IRANIAN LAW PRESCRIBES WITH RESPECT TO A REGENT AND A REGENCY COUNCIL. CHRISTOPHER

BT

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**ACTION**

ACTION:

POL-3

INFO:

AMB

DCM

EC-2

PM

OR

ADM

ICA

CRU-2

8/GMH

CONFIDENTIAL

Mohsen PEZESHKPUR

(Phonetic: pezeshkPOOR)

IRAN

Leader, Pan-Iran Party  
(since 1948)

Addressed as:  
Mr. Pezeshkpur

OFFICE OF  
CENTRAL REFERENCE



Mohsen Pezeshkpur helped found the Pan-Iran Party in 1948. In its heyday during the 1960s and early 1970s, it was an ultranationalist, xenophobic, totalitarian organization that reminded many observers of the Nazi Party. Pezeshkpur's group had and probably still has virtually no popular appeal. In 1974, when the government made the Resurgence Party of the People of Iran (RPPI) the only legal party, the Pan-Iran Party was dissolved. Pezeshkpur joined the RPPI, but in 1977 he became a member of the Parliamentary Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and criticized the government. In June 1978, charging that the RPPI was responsible for much of "the chaos in Iranian society," he resigned from the RPPI and announced the revival of the Pan-Iran Party. He has continued to criticize the government on a variety of issues. (C)

For a decade beginning during the prime ministership (1951-53) of Mohammad Mosadeq, Pezeshkpur remained an official leader of the Pan-Iran Party but was largely inactive. Returning to the political scene in 1961, he subsequently became the party's sole leader after Daryush Foruhar left to form his own group, the Nation of Iran Party. The government used the party to attack then Egyptian President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir but otherwise kept it under a tight rein. Thanks to the Shah's consent, Pezeshkpur was permitted to run for parliament in elections held in 1967 and was elected to the Majles (lower house). (C)

Notorious for his chauvinism, Pezeshkpur has long insisted on the "Iranness" of several territories outside the borders of Iran--including the former British protectorate of Bahrain, to

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which Iran had had a historical claim. In 1970, when the Shah agreed with the British decision to allow a plebiscite in Bahrain (it voted for independence), Pezeshkpur submitted a motion in the Majles censuring the government. Angered, the Shah cut off funds and support to the Pan-Iran Party and let it be known that the group's five deputies would not be reelected. The monarch later relented, however, and Pezeshkpur has continued in the legislature. (C)

Pezeshkpur, about 61, holds a licentiate in jurisprudence from Tehran University and has served as a member of the executive board of the bar association. He has written several articles and a book, *What Do We Want?* He speaks English. (U)

13 December 1978

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- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

TEHRAN 12157

0131021Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2174  
BT  
CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12157

CHRG: STATE 12/13/78  
APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS  
DRFTD: POL:JDSTEMP:HC  
CLEAR: 1.POL:GBLAMBRAXI  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM  
ECON-2 PM OR  
ICA (10)

LIMDIS

R.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/13/78 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OM-R  
TAGS: IR  
SUBJECT: REGENCY COUNCIL

REF: (A) TEHRAN 12048, (B) TEHRAN 11848, (C) STATE 313318,

1. REFS A AND B GIVE OPPOSITION VIEW OF REGENCY COUNCIL PROPOSAL IN CONTEXT. THIS IS BASED ON ARTICLE 36 OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, AS AMENDED SEPT 9, 1967, QUOTED IN ITS ENTIRETY BELOW: QUOTE

IN THE EVENT OF THE TRANSFER OF THE THRONE, THE CROWN PRINCE SHALL PERSONALLY PERFORM THE FUNCTIONS OF MONARCH WHEN HE HAS REACHED TWENTY YEARS OF AGE (TO BE CALCULATED ON THE BASIS OF THE SOLAR YEAR). IF HE HAS NOT REACHED THAT AGE, THE SHAHDANU, MOTHER OF THE CROWN PRINCE, SHALL ASSUME THE REGENCY, UNLESS ANOTHER PERSON SHALL HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE MONARCH FOR THAT OFFICE. THE REGENT SHALL FORM A COUNCIL COMPOSED OF THE PRIME MINISTER, THE HEADS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT AND FOUR OTHER SAGACIOUS, REPUTABLE PERSONALITIES OF THE COUNTRY TO BE SELECTED BY THE REGENT, AND (THE REGENT) SHALL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION, ASSUME THE DUTIES OF MONARCH IN CONSULTATION WITH THE COUNCIL UNTIL (SUCH TIME AS) THE CROWN PRINCE REACHES THE AGE OF 20. IN THE EVENT OF THE DEMISE OR RESIGNATION OF THE REGENT, THE COUNCIL SHALL TEMPORARILY CARRY OUT THE DUTIES OF THE REGENCY UNTIL ANOTHER REGENT--NOT A MEMBER OF THE QAJAR FAMILY--IS APPOINTED BY THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. REMARRIAGE BY THE SHAHDANU REGENT SHALL CONSTITUTE RESIGNATION (FROM REGENCY). UNQUOTE

2. REGENCY COUNCIL, AS SEEN IN LAW, IS BASICALLY TO ADVISE REGENT. NATIONAL FRONT VIEW IS THAT SHAH WOULD APPOINT REGENCY COUNCIL, THEN DESIGNATE IT, NOT SHAHDANU, TO PERFORM REGENT'S DUTIES, THEN RESIGN AND TRANSFER HIS POWERS TO COUNCIL. BASIS FOR THIS IS PROVISION IN NEXT-TO-LAST SENTENCE FOR COUNCIL TO ACT AS REGENT AFTER DEMISE OR RESIGNATION OF REGENT. ACCORDING TO DR. NIMATCHI, NEW REGENT WOULD NOT BE DESIGNATED UNTIL NEW, RECENTLY-ELECTED PARLIAMENT HAD CONSIDERED STATUS OF MONARCHY, THUS LEAVING REGENCY COUNCIL IN POSITION OF EXERCISING MONARCHIAL POWERS UNTIL GENERAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TOOK PLACE. WHILE THIS WAS NOT EXACTLY THE WAY ARTICLE 36 WAS PROJECTED TO WORK WHEN AMENDED, SPECULATION SCENARIO APPEARS TO MEET CONDITIONS OF CONSTITUTION. SULLIVAN

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CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

TEHRAN 12157

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CONFIDENTIAL/FOUO

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DATE: 12-12-78  
 BY: [REDACTED]  
 TO: POLICE LA BRANIS  
 FROM: 104-2 AMB POL  
 CHAR. LUNNY

(POL 12)

101-277-160

77

TO THE DIRECTOR, FBI, WASHINGTON, D.C.

1. The following information was obtained from the file of the  
2. Bureau of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice,  
3. and is being furnished to you for your information and use.  
4. The information was obtained from the file of the Bureau of the  
5. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and is being  
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8. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and is being  
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TEHRAN

O 211123Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2350  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEHRAN 12500

E.O. 12065: N/A  
TAGS: PINR, IR  
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH QASHQAI LEADER

1. EMBOFF MET DEC 17 WITH MALIK MANSOUR KHAN QASHQAI, BROTHER OF QASHQAI IL-KHAN NASSER KHAN. THE MEETING WAS NOT PRECISELY ACCIDENTAL BUT BECAUSE OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE QASHQAI BROTHERS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN OTHER CHANNELS, EMBOFF MADE NO ATTEMPT TO STEER CONVERSATION IN POLITICAL DIRECTION. HOWEVER, MALIK MANSOUR KHAN, AFTER LENGTHY AND NOT WHOLLY UNBIASED TREATISE ON HISTORY OF QASHQAIS AS WARRIOR NATION, DESCRIBED HIS FAMILY AS SUPPORTIVE OF THE SHAH DESPITE WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO THEM. "I AM NOT AN ORDINARY MAN. I AM A GREAT KHAN, YET I LIVE IN A RENTED ROOM, CANNOT RETURN TO QASHQAI LANDS, AND MY LANDS FROM ISFAHAN TO THE PERSIAN GULF WERE TAKEN FROM ME BY THIS SO-CALLED PARLIAMENT." HE WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF FORMER SAVAK CHIEF NASSIRI, WITH WHOM HE HAD A PERSONAL RUN-IN, AND OF THE LATE COURT MINISTER ASSADOLLAH ALAM, WHO MALIK MANSOUR KHAN FEELS BETRAYED HIS CLASS AND THE MEMORY OF HIS FATHER THE REVERED AMIR SHOKAT-OL-MOLK.

2. MALIK MANSOUR KHAN BELIEVES THAT HIS BROTHER NASSER KHAN, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED TO U.S. FOLLOWING TREATMENT FOR EYE PROBLEM IN MUNICH, MAY SOON RETURN TO IRAN. NASSER KHAN HAS INSTRUCTED HIS FAMILY TO PREPARE LODGINGS FOR HIM WITHIN NEXT TWO WEEKS.

3. COMMENT: MALIK MANSOUR KHAN'S BITTERNESS WAS PLAIN, AS WAS HIS DESIRE TO REGAIN WHAT HE FEELS IS HIS BIRTHRIGHT. IF HIS BROTHERS FEEL THE SAME WAY, AND IF THE SHAH IS WILLING TO FORGIVE THEIR SUPPORT FOR MOSSADEGH, A DEAL WOULD PROBABLY BE STRUCK ASSURING THE SHAH THE SUPPORT OF THE QASHQAI CHIEFLY FAMILY, FOR WHATEVER THAT SUPPORT WOULD BE WORTH. SULLIVAN

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CHARGE: STATE 1  
APPROV: DCM:CNNA  
DRAFTD: POL:STB  
CLEAR: POL:GBI  
DISTR: POL-3  
AMB DCM  
ECON-2  
OR ADM  
AO AFOS

TEHRAN

O 211123Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2350  
INFO: RUEHC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4100

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12534

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: REG-4 12-16-68 (STAMPED, J.T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINR, PINR, IR  
SUBJECT: BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARD REGENCY COUNCIL

REF: A) TEHRAN 12042, B) TEHRAN 1010

1. BRITISH HEAD OF CHANCERY DAVID MIERS TOLD EMBOFF STAMPED THAT BRITISH HAD RECENTLY HEARD OUT MINATCHI PROPOSAL FOR REGENCY COUNCIL. IN RESPONSE TO MINATCHI PLAN TO BRING THIS TO SHAH, BOTH BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND MIERS HAD TOLD MINATCHI THAT BRITISH WOULD RESERVE ANY COMMENT FOR SHAH AND ONLY IF ASKED BY HIM. MIERS STRESSED TO US THAT BRITISH HAD MADE NO COMMITMENT TO RAISE MATTER FAVORABLY AND ARE NOT DISPOSED TO SUPPORT REGENCY COUNCIL IDEA NOW, NOR TO INTERVENE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN ANY WAY.

2. MIERS WENT ON TO SAY MINATCHI HAD SPARED THE TRUTH IN DESCRIBING AMERICAN POSITION TO BRITISH ALLEGING THAT EMBOFF HAD SAID PROPOSITION OF REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD BE RECOMMENDED FAVORABLY TO AMBASSADOR. EMBOFF ASSURED MIERS THAT U.S. WAS NOT FAVORABLY DISPOSED FOR REGENCY COUNCIL AND HAD GIVEN NO SUCH INDICATION TO MINATCHI.

3. MIERS STATED BELIEF THAT MINATCHI IS TRYING TO SELL TO ADMINISTRATION REGENCY COUNCIL CONCEPT WHICH MOST CLOSELY FITS THE AYATOLLAH'S VIEWS AND IN TURN IS TRYING TO SELL THE SHAH A SIMILAR, BUT NOT IDENTICAL, FORMULATION I.E. COOPERATION WITH REGENCY COUNCIL AS INTERIM BODY. MINATCHI HAS HAD NO SUCCESS TO DATE IN EITHER DIRECTION. MINATCHI'S EXTENSIONS OF "REINTERPRETATIONS" OF U.S. AND BRITISH INTERESTS ARE, IN MIERS' OPINION, SIMPLY GOLD PERSIAN LAWYER'S EFFORTS TO BRING SOMETHING OUT. MIERS DID NOT SEEM TOO CONCERNED BY THIS, AND SAID HE WAS NO LONGER LISTENING TO MINATCHI BECAUSE A LONGER FUTURE POINT HE MIGHT BE USEFUL.

4. EMBOFF HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED TO MINATCHI U.S. EMBASSY'S DISAPPOINTMENT AT WAY BOTH U.S. AND BRITISH POSITIONS WERE MISINTERPRETED TO OTHER PARTY. ONE FEELING IS THAT IF MINATCHI IS EVENTUALLY TO BE USEFUL, IT WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY BETTER IF HE KEPT HIS TAIL BELLOWED ON A TIGHTER STRING.

5. SUGGEST DEPT REQUEST RESTRICTED DISSEM TO POL:GBI/IR

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CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 12188

005032 REC 78  
EMBASSY TEHRAN  
SECSTATE WASHDC 2188

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12188

NO. 12465: GDS 12/13/78 (ESCUDEMO, S.T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PIR, IR  
SUBJ: PROPOSAL FOR RETURN OF NASSER KHAN QASHGAI

APPRV: DCM:GWNAA  
TRPTD: POL:SMSCUBNO  
CLEAR: POL:GDBAAS  
ISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM  
ECON PM OR  
ICA SHIRAZ  
RY/10

1. EMBOFF MET DEC 23 WITH HUSHANG SHAHBAZI, RELATIVE OF QASHGAI CHIEFLY FAMILY, TO HEAR DISCOURSE ON ADVANTAGE TO SHAH OF RETURN TO IRAN OF QASHGAI IL-KHAN, NASSER KHAN QASHGAI. SHAHBAZI READILY ADMITTED THAT NATURE OF TRIBE HAS CHANGED AS IT BECAME MORE SELENTARIZED. HOWEVER, HE MAINTAINED THAT NASSER KHAN RETAINS EXTRAORDINARY INFLUENCE AMONG HIS PEOPLE AND AMONG RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN PROVINCE OF PARS. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO SHAHBAZI, QASHGAI OCCUPIES TRADITIONAL PLACE OF IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE AMONG IRAN'S "THOUSAND FAMILIES" AND HIS RETURN COULD HELP TO BOLSTER THEIR SUPPORT FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM. NASSER KHAN WAS PARTICULARLY CLOSE TO GEN ZAHEDI AND ALLEGEDLY HAD A HAND, ALONG WITH ZAHEDI, IN THE DEATH OF MOSSADEGH'S CHIEF OF POLICE, GEN AFSHAR -US.

2. SHAHBAZI DESCRIBED NASSER KHAN AS AN INTELLIGENT AND CLEVER MAN, BUT ONE WITH WEAKNESSES, INCLUDING A LOVE OF MONEY AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO A POSITION OF HONOR RESPECT AND POWER APPROXIMATING THAT WHICH HE ENJOYED IN THE TRIBAL LANDS PRIOR TO HIS EXILE. NASSER KHAN ORIGINALLY FAVORED THE NATIONAL FRONT BECAUSE, IN THE 50'S, THE SHAH POSED THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE ENJOYMENT BY TRIBAL CHIEFS AND LARGE LANDOWNERS OF THEIR TRADITIONAL PREROGATIVES. AT PRESENT, SHAHBAZI BELIEVES, NASSER KHAN WOULD PERCEIVE RETENTION OF THE SHAH AS CONSISTENT WITH A TRADITIONAL VIEW OF IRANIAN AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND THEREFORE A DESIRABLE OBJECTIVE. AS AN OLD NATIONAL FRONTER, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE WELCOMED BY PRESENT FRONT LEADERS, PARTICULARLY AS HE WOULD HAVE NO AMBITION FOR POLITICAL OFFICE.

3. SHOULD NASSER KHAN RETURN, SHAHBAZI BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF HE COULD BE ARRESTED FOR A FEW DAYS TO INCREASE HIS CREDIBILITY. ONCE FREE, NASSER KHAN WOULD BE UNABLE TO OPPOSE KHOMEINI DIRECTLY, NOR WOULD SUCH A CONFRONTATION BE DESIRABLE AS IT WOULD FORCE AT LEAST SOME OF THE OPPOSITION BACK INTO A MORE EXTREMIST POSITION IN DEFENSE OF KHOMEINI. RATHER, NASSER KHAN'S CONTRIBUTION WITHIN THE COUNCILS OF THE OPPOSITION WOULD BE TO ARGUE IN FAVOR OF THE NECESSITY TO RETAIN THE SHAH. IN PARS, AND PARTICULARLY IN CITIES SUCH AS SHIRAZ AND JAHROM, NASSER KHAN'S INFLUENCE COULD BE MAINTAIN ORDER, ESPECIALLY AT THE BOYER-AHMADI AND THE HAMSEN CONFEDERATION WOULD BE LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE QASHGAI.

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TEHRAN 12188

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4. DURING THAT HE WAS NOT YET APPROACHED NASSER KHAN OF HIS FAMILY ON THIS SUBJECT. SHAHBAZI ASKED IF EMBOFF WOULD BE INTERESTED IN MEETING NASSER KHAN'S BROTHERS FOR FURTHER TALKS. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE IS IN NO POSITION TO ASSESS EITHER IMPACT OF NASSER KHAN'S RETURN NOR GOI WILLINGNESS TO HAVE HIM BACK IN IRAN. HOWEVER, AS GOI HAD EXILED HIM IN THE FIRST PLACE, ANY DISCUSSIONS OR AGREEMENTS REGARDING HIS RETURN OUGHT PROPERLY TO FOCUS ON GOI. U.S. WOULD, IN ANY CASE, TAKE NO STEPS INCONSISTENT WITH ITS SUPPORT OF THE SHAH AND EMBOFF THEREFORE DOUBTED THAT SUGGESTED CONVERSATION WITH NASSER KHAN'S BROTHERS WOULD TAKE PLACE UNLESS PROPOSAL WAS OF INTEREST TO GOI.

5. COMMENT: WAS SHAH, OVER THE YEARS, HAS CONSCIOUSLY REDUCED THE POWER OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF IRANIAN SOCIETY WITH NO CONCOMITANT GAIN AMONG OTHER SOCIAL SEGMENTS, HE PRESENTLY FINDS HIMSELF RELYING ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE MILITARY FOR HIS INTERNAL SUPPORT. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS APPEARANCE OF POWERFUL TRADITIONALLY-BASED SUPPORTERS MIGHT PROVE ATTRACTIVE. HOWEVER, GOI WOULD HAVE TO WEIGH CAREFULLY POTENTIAL GAINS OF NASSER KHAN'S PRESENCE AGAINST POSSIBLE IMPACT OF HIS RETURN ON STILL FRAGILE DOMINANCE OF MODERATE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP WHICH APPEARS TO BE MOVING CLOSE TO DISCUSSIONS WITH SEAMON COALITION/TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. IT HAS BEEN FASHIONABLE, DURING PAST DECADE, TO DOWNPLAY INFLUENCE OF TRIBAL CHIEFS AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ELEMENTS IN IRAN. WITHOUT COMMENTING ON DEGREE OF INFLUENCE RETAINED BY QASHGAI IL-KHANID FAMILY, WE NOTE THAT RESURGENCE OF ISLAMIC INFLUENCE SUGGESTS THIS WAS TOO FACILE AN APPROACH. SULLIVAN

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TEHRAN 12188

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*Shahbaz, Nasser Khan*

**THE**

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

TEHRAN 12652/1

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0 074014Z DEC 78

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SUMMARY: MINATCHI CONFIRMED THAT ENG MEHDI BAZARGAN AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT (LMI) ARE DISCREETLY SUPPORTING SADIQI EFFORT TO FORM GOVERNMENT. COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) IS ALSO BACKING SADIQI EFFORT. MINATCHI THOUGHT SADIQI WAS ABOUT READY TO FORM CABINET, BUT WANTED TO FOLLOW MOSSADEQ PRECEDENT AND GET MAJLES APPROVAL FOR GOVERNMENT BEFORE TAKING MAN-POWER FROM SHAH. MINATCHI WAFFLED ON QUESTION WHETHER NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO END STRIKES NOW PARALYSING COUNTRY, BUT THOUGH THERE WOULD BE AT LEAST "SOME" AMELIORATION OF SITUATION. HE DOES NOT SEE SADIQI GOVERNMENT AS A REAL SOLUTION TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS. HE CONFIRMED THAT MUHAMMAD KHOMEINI HAD URGED THE RELIGIOUS FAITHFUL TO KILL THOSE BEARING CLUBS AND DEMONSTRATING AGAINST THEM. END SUMMARY.

MR. HAMMER MINATCHI MET WITH EMBOFF STEMPER AT HOSSEIN-AL-RESHAD OFFICE DEC 27 FOR REVIEW OF PRESENT SITUATION. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, MINATCHI SAID BOTH LMI AND CDHRF WERE TACITLY SUPPORTING SADIQI EFFORTS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. ENG BAZARGAN HAD MET WITH SADIQI DEC 23 TO TELL HIM HE WOULD NOT RPT NOT SERVE IN NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT ENCOURAGE HIM TO CONTINUE WITH PROCESS. MINATCHI SAID BAZARGAN GROUP BELIEVES IT HAS KHOMEINI'S AGREEMENT NOT TO APPEAR IF SADIQI IS SUCCESSFUL. MINATCHI THOUGHT SADIQI WOULD BE ABLE TO FORM GOVERNMENT AND HAD ALREADY ASKED MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF HIS CABINET. MINATCHI SAID HE HAD ONLY TWO SELECTIONS: MOHSEN PEZESHKEPOUR, PAN-IRANISTAN OPPOSITION LEADER IN MAJLES, FOR JUSTICE MINISTER; AND HAMID MOULAVI, PROMINENT ACADEMIC, FOR COMMERCE MINISTER.

ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, SADIQI WANTS TO FOLLOW MOSSADEQ PRECEDENT AND GET PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL OF HIS CABINET BEFORE GETTING IMPERIAL FARMAN FROM SHAH. MINATCHI THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE MATTER WAS BEING DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT IN TODAY'S PRIVATE SESSION. OTHER SOURCES ARE LESS CERTAIN THAT CABINET-LEVEL APPROVAL HAS BEEN OBTAINED AND BELIEVE SADIQI HAS ASKED SHAH TO GET CABINET TOGETHER. PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WAS JUST GENERAL DISCUSSION OF SITUATION, AND SECOND PRIVATE SESSION WILL BE HELD TOMORROW.

MINATCHI'S SUPPORT FOR SADIQI EFFORTS WENT AS FAR AS SAYING HE HAD SAID OF STRIKES NOW PARALYSING COUNTRY.

CHARGE: STATE 12-27-78  
APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS  
REFRPT: POL:JDSSTEMPEL:IAH  
CLEAR: POL:GBLAMBRAXIS  
DISTR: POL:JDSSTEMPEL:IAH  
EC2 PM OR  
CHRON/10

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TEHRAN 12652/1

ING THAT STRIKES WOULD CONTINUE, BECAUSE "PEOPLE WANTED SHAH TO GO; NOT EVEN KHOMEINI WOULD GET POPULAR SUPPORT AS PM IF SHAH REMAINED." (COMMENT: MINATCHI IN GENERAL WAS HARDER ON "SHAH MUST GO" THEME THIS TIME THAN PREVIOUSLY.) HOWEVER, MINATCHI ALSO SAID THAT IF NEW GOVERNMENT GOT OFF TO GOOD START AND GOT TROOPS OFF THE STREETS, THINGS WOULD BE BETTER AND THERE WOULD BE FEWER RIOTS. EMBOFF MINATCHI SAID, SADIQI GOVERNMENT WAS NOT THE FINAL SOLUTION TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS; SHAH WOULD STILL HAVE TO GO. EMBOFF AND MINATCHI AGREED SADIQI EFFORT WOULD BE BETTER THAN VIOLENCE, AND IN RESPONSE TO DIRECT QUESTION MINATCHI, EMBOFF SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NO BETTER CHANCE THAT EITHER ALTERNATIVE WHICH INCLUDED DEFACTO COUNCIL AND SHAH'S LEAVING COUNTRY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE EVEN IF KHOMEINI AGREED TO THEM. MINATCHI SAID HE THOUGHT HARD-LINE MILITARY SOLUTION WOULD THEN BE TRY AND CAUSE LOTS OF BLOODSHED. EMBOFF SAID U.S. DID NOT WANT TO SEE THIS HAPPEN; THAT IS WHY WE FAVORED COALITION GOVERNMENT AND COMPROMISE. MINATCHI NOTED THAT SADIQI EFFORT WAS JUST SUCH AN IDEA AND AGREED WITH EMBOFF THAT IF IT WORKED, IT MIGHT MOVE SITUATION AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION AND TO POLITICS. MINATCHI THEN PAUSED AND ADDED THAT SADIQI COULD HELP SITUATION A BIT BUT WOULD NOT BE THE LONG-TERM ANSWER. ONE POINT OF SADIQI'S PROGRAM, HOWEVER, WOULD BE EARLY ELECTIONS--DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT WITHIN TWO MONTHS AND ELECTIONS "FAIRLY QUICKLY" THEREAFTER. IF MAJLES COULD THEN DEAL WITH QUESTION OF MONARCHY.

4. WHEN EMBOFF PRODDED MINATCHI ABOUT CURRENT STATE OF DEMONSTRATIONS, MINATCHI SAID HAPPILY THAT THESE WERE ALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS. EMBOFF THEN QUERIED WHY U.S. EMBASSY HAD BEEN SINGLED OUT DEC 24 FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION? STARTLED, MINATCHI AT FIRST ASKED IF IT WERE CERTAIN THESE WERE NOT SAVAK AGENTS AND WHEN TOLD THAT WOULDNT WASH, ADMITTED THAT "NOT ALL" RELIGIOUS GROUPS WERE REALLY UNDER FIRM CONTROL. HE FLATLY DENIED THAT RELIGIOUS GROUPS HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH RECENT ASSASSINATIONS IN AHWAZ AND SAID THESE HAD TROUBLED CHIEF. EMBOFF ASKED

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TEHRAN 12652/1

C O N F I D E N T I A L/LIMDIS

TEHRAN 12002

O 271414Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 2469  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12652

LIMDIS

THAT THEY TROUBLED US, TOO. (COMMENT: MINATCHI IS USUALLY NOT VERY WELL INFORMED ON OPERATIONAL MATTERS, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE IS EVEN MORE NERVOUS NOW THAN PREVIOUSLY ABOUT PROSPECTS OF VIOLENT ACTS BEYOND CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT.)

5. MINATCHI SAID KHOMEINI HAD INDEED ISSUED EDICT CALLING FOR THE FAITHFUL TO KILL ANYONE WHO ATTACKED RELIGIOUS DEMONSTRATORS WITH CLUBS OR WEAPONS (A CLEAR REFERENCE TO RECENT PRO-SHAH DEMONSTRATORS). THIS HAD THE FORCE OF LAW, COMING FROM ONE WITH KHOMEINI'S RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY. EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT THIS SEEMED AN EXTREME REACTION IN VIEW OF POTENTIAL PROBLEMS IT COULD CAUSE. MINATCHI ADMITTED THIS, BUT SAID THIS SITUATION WAS WHAT MADE PRESENT CONDITIONS IN IRAN SO EXPLOSIVE--KHOMEINI HAD BOTH RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL POWER TO WIELD AGAINST SHAH. IN 1953 SHAH HAD SUPPORT OF RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT. CONDITIONS NOW WERE DIFFERENT.

6. CONVERSATION ENDED WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT VIOLENCE WOULD NOT DOMINATE POLITICS. SULLIVAN  
BT  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L/LIMDIS

86

TEHRAN 12002

O 281257Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 2469  
BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 TEHRAN 12702

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/28/88 (LAMBRAXIS, G.B.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH OPPOSITIONIST DERAKHSHESH

CERGE: STATE 12/28/78  
APPRV: LCM:CNNAAS  
DEFTD: POL:GLAMERAKI  
CLEAR: NONE  
DISTR: POL: S AMF DCM  
EC2 FM ICA OR  
ADM SY DAO ISF  
AFOSI SHIR TAP  
CHRON/18

1. AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED BY POL COUNSELOR MET WITH HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION MOHAMAD DERAKHSHESH IN HOME OF AN EMBASSY NATIONAL EMPLOYEE DEC 27. DERAKHSHESH WAS ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS POLITICAL GROUP, WHICH HAS SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL EXISTENCE WITH TEACHERS UNION: DR. DAVOUD RASSAI, A LAWYER WHO IS RETIRED TEACHER, AND DR. SADEH RAEBISZADEH, DIRECTOR OF TEHRAN'S LARGEST HIGH SCHOOL (WHO REMAINED MOSTLY SILENT). MEETING, WHICH CAME AT DERAKHSHESH'S REQUEST, WAS FOR PURPOSE OF LAYING OUT TO AMBASSADOR GROUP'S IDEAS. (THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN LAID OUT TO POL COUNSELOR IN PREVIOUS MEETING WITH DERAKHSHESH AND RASSAI A WEEK AGO.)

2. GROUP IS ADAMANT THAT SITUATION HAS EVOLVED TO THE POINT WHERE SHAH MUST LEAVE COUNTRY. EVEN IF KHOMEINI DECIDED SHAH COULD STAY, THE PEOPLE TODAY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS. IN ANY CASE, DERAKHSHESH'S GROUP DOES NOT TRUST SHAH'S PROMISES, WHICH HE HAS BROKEN ON MANY OCCASIONS IN THE PAST.

3. IF SHAH LEAVES, THIS IN ITSELF WILL REDUCE SUPPORT FOR KHOMEINI BY 50 PERCENT. THUS KHOMEINI WILL BE TOO WEAK TO ESTABLISH ISLAMIC REPUBLIC AND MODERATES SUCH AS DERAKHSHESH WILL HAVE CHANCE TO FORM GOVT WHICH WILL BE DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-COMMUNIST, PRO-WESTERN AND ANTI-CLERICAL.

4. SCENARIO THEY VISUALIZE IS SHAH TURNING OVER HIS POWERS TO A REGENCY COUNCIL. THEY ARE NOT TOO FUSSY ABOUT MEMBERSHIP OF COUNCIL AND HAVE NO OBJECTION TO NAMES SUCH AS ANTEZAM, SORURI, SALEH, ETC. THOUGH THEY OBJECT TO ALI AMINI. THEY THINK COUNCIL SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF 9 TO 11 PEOPLE, 4 TO 5 OF THEM MILITARY. THE MILITARY SHOULD BE RETIRED GENERALS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN CORRUPTED, NOTABLY GENERAL JAM. THIS COUNCIL WOULD APPOINT NEW GOVT, WHETHER IT BE LED BY DERAKHSHESH OR SOME OTHER OPPOSITION FIGURE. A NEW GOVT WOULD APPEAL TO PEOPLE FOR TWO OR THREE MONTHS TO CARRY OUT A SPECIFIC, CLEARLY ENUNCIATED PROGRAM THAT THE PEOPLE WOULD LIKE. FREE ELECTIONS COULD FOLLOW, LEADING TO A PARLIAMENT WHICH WOULD THEN FORM NEW GOVT.

5. THE PROBLEM OF A POSSIBLE MILITARY REACTION TO THIS SCENARIO, THE GROUP HOPED, WOULD BE MET BY SHAH HIMSELF, WHO WOULD RESPONSIBLY INSTRUCT MEMBERS OF REGENCY COUNCIL AND TOP ARMY COMMANDERS TO COOPERATE, RETIRING OR TAKING WITH HIM THOSE TOP COMMANDERS WHO ARE CORRUPT. SHAH'S INCENTIVE WOULD BE HIS HOPE TO PRESERVE HIS DYNASTY IN THE FORM OF HIS SON RETURNING IN A FEW YEARS TO REPLACE REGENCY COUNCIL.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 12702/1



6. GROUP DWELT AT LENGTH ON ITS FEAR OF RELIGIOUS RULE BY KHOMEINI AND THE MULLAHS AND PROBABILITY MANY WOULD FLEE THE COUNTRY IF THAT BECAME A REALITY. GROUP ALSO STRESSED ITS OWN LONG HISTORY OF FIGHTING THE COMMUNISTS, STARTING WITH ITS RESISTANCE TO TUDEH PARTY 30 YEARS AGO (WITH NEWS-PAPER "MEHREGAN"). PRESENT POLITICAL GROUP REFORMED ITSELF ABOUT 3 OR 4 YEARS AGO, AT THAT TIME COUNTING SOME 80 MEMBERS. SANJABI, WITH ABOUT A DOZEN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, HAD ASKED TO JOIN THE GROUP SHORTLY BEFORE IT WAS DISBANDED BY SHAH. SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SUCH AS NAJAFI AND PAYDAR HAVE RECENTLY BECOME MINISTERS IN SHARIF-EMAMI AND AZHARI GOVTS AND ARE NO LONGER DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP THOUGH ON GOOD TERMS WITH IT. A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO GROUP TRIED TO REVIVE NEWSPAPER BY PRINTING FIRST ISSUE OF "AZARDEGAN" BUT DERAKHSHESH WAS ARRESTED AND FURTHER ISSUES WERE NOT PERMITTED. THUS GOVT HAS PREVENTED GROUP'S ENLARGING ITS FOLLOWING WITH WHAT THEY CONSIDER A MODERATE PROGRAM.

7. DERAKHSHESH POINTED OUT THIS WAS SEVENTH TIME HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND SPENT TIME IN JAIL. A FORMER MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN THE EARLY 1960S DERAKHSHESH TOLD US HE HAS BUILT A RECORD OF STRENGTH AND INCORRUPTABILITY. HE REFUSED PARTICIPATION IN LATER, TAINTED GOVTS. HE HAS MAINTAINED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY'S SOME 400,000 TEACHERS THROUGH SOME 17 OR 18 YEARS OF POLITICAL INACTIVITY. AS FORMER MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION, HE MAINTAINS CONTACTS WITH THE PROVINCES AND HAS MANY MEETINGS IN HIS HOME, MOST OF THEM CONNECTED WITH HIS POLITICAL GROUP RATHER THAN THE TEACHERS UNION. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT AMONG CALLERS AT HIS HOME ARE NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS SUCH AS SANJABI AND BAZARGAN AS WELL AS KHOMEINI SUPPORTERS SUCH AS BEHESHTI AND A DR. BAHOUAR.

8. THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION GROUP STRESSED URGENCY THAT SOMETHING BE DONE AS A FEW MORE WEEKS MIGHT BE TOO LATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 12702/2

O 261257Z DEC 78

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2490

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12702

FOR THE COUNTRY. LARGE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS HAVE RETURNED FROM EUROPE AND AMERICA OVER PAST WEEK AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE VIOLENT STREET TACTICS BEING SEEN IN TEHRAN LAST FEW DAYS. THEY HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSONS ABROAD AND ARE UNDOUBTEDLY BEING COORDINATED BY COMMUNIST PARTY. TUDEH SUPPORTERS ARE NOT NUMEROUS BUT VERY WELL ORGANIZED AND TRAINED TO SELL THEIR POLITICAL POSITION AMONG OPPOSITION GROUPS. THIS GIVES THEM A POWER OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR REAL NUMBERS.

9. AMBASSADOR LIMITED HIMSELF TO HEARING THEM OUT, ASKING SOME CLARIFYING QUESTIONS, AND SETTING FORTH U.S. POSITION IN FAVOR OF IRANIAN INDEPENDENCE, A DEMOCRATIC GOVT, AND MODERATE MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT PROBLEM, IF SUCH A SOLUTION CAN STILL BE OBTAINED. SULLIVAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 12702/1

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011542Z DEC 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 2488  
INFO RUEHC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 4125  
RUEHPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 3549  
BT  
CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12691

LIMDIS

R.O. 12665: RDS-4 12/28/84 (SYMTEL, JOHN D.) OR-P  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT: WHETHER OR WHETHER SADIQI?

REF: (A) TEHRAN 12648, (B) TEHRAN 12652 (NOTAL),

SUMMARY: CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY EXISTS AS TO WHERE SADIQI STANDS IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO FORM GOVERNMENT. THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE HE HAS HAD LITTLE LUCK IN GETTING CABINET TOGETHER, BUT STORIES PERSIST, ESPECIALLY IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES, THAT HE MAY BE CLOSE TO TAKING THE REINS. SOME OF HIS REPUTED CABINET CHOICES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY THAT THEY WOULD NOT SERVE. EVEN IF SADIQI COULD FORM GOVT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE IS SERIOUS DOUBT IN MANY QUARTERS IT WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH MUCH. IN WAKE OF GENERAL BREAKDOWN OF PUBLIC ORDER IN TEHRAN AND GROWING PRESENT AND PROJECTED SHORTAGES OF KEY ITEMS SUCH AS HEATING OIL AND GAS, IT APPEARS TO AMEMBASSY THAT TIME FOR POLITICS IS VERY SHORT.

END SUMMARY

1. PARA SEVEN REF A SUGGESTS POLITICAL INITIATIVES ARE AT DEAD CENTER FOR MOMENT. PUBLICLY, GHOLAM HOSSAIN SADIQI IS STILL SUPPOSED TO BE ATTEMPTING TO FORM A CABINET TO TAKE OVER FROM GEN. AZHARI'S GOVT. AS A RESULT, AZHARI GOVT IS INCREASINGLY SEEN HERE, EVEN BY ITS OWN MEMBERS, AS A LAME DUCK ADMINISTRATION. ITS MINISTERS ARE LOATH TO TAKE INDEPENDENT DECISIONS EVEN ON SIMPLE MATTERS. PRIVATELY, AMEMBASSY HAS HEARD WIDELY VARYING STORIES, ALL FROM GOOD SOURCES, ABOUT SADIQI PROGRESS. MOST OPTIMISTIC SAY HE HAS CABINET NEARLY FORMED (REF B) AND WILL BE READY TO MOVE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. THIS COINCIDES WITH RUMORS GOING AROUND DEC 27 AND 28 THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW GOVT WILL COME DEC 28-31. EQUALLY GOOD SOURCES, HOWEVER, SAY SADIQI HAS HAD MINIMAL LUCK ENLISTING QUALIFIED PEOPLE (I.E., THOSE NOT "TAINTED" BY PARTICIPATION IN PAST 15 YEARS' GOVERNMENTS) AND HAS BEEN ABLE TO LINE UP ONLY FOUR TO EIGHT INDIVIDUALS.

2. A COUPLE OF HIS REPORTED CABINET CHOICES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY THAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN COALITION GOVT. MOMENT PRESENKPOUR TOLD CLOSED SESSION OF PARLIAMENT DEC 27 THEY YOUNG, UNTAINTED RADICAL GOVERNMENT IS NEEDED. IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION INSTIGATED BY US HE CONFIRMED THAT HE WAS READY TO OFFER HIMSELF AS PRIME MINISTERIAL CANDIDATE, THUS SUGGESTING HE WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN BEING SADIQI'S MINISTER OF JUSTICE, AS HAS BEEN TOUTED. NEEDI

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TEHRAN 12691

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TEHRAN 12691

AZAR, WHO HAD BEEN ON AT LEAST TWO "LIPES" OF THOSE BOUGHT BY SADIQI, TOLD FRIENDS PRIVATELY HE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY POST NOW. FACT THAT RUMORS REGARDING THOSE WILLING TO SERVE ARE SO FEW AND FAR BETWEEN ALSO LEANS CREDS TO BELIEF SADIQI IS FACING SERIOUS STRUGGLE, PARTICULARLY SINCE NATIONAL FRONT (INF) LEADER SANJABI HAS PUBLICLY SAID INF NOT INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE OF WASTELAND WHICH IS HALLMARK OF POLITICAL SCENE IS GENERAL BELIEF THAT EVEN IF SADIQI FORMS A GOVT, IT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO MUCH IN ABSENCE OF SIGNIFICANT ORGANIZED OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION. NAZARGAN'S LEMERATION MOVEMENT (LMI), WHICH IS MAINTAINING BENIGN NEUTRALITY, IS UNWILLING TO SUPPLY EVEN SECOND-LEVEL PERSONNEL FOR SADIQI GOVT. GROWING PUBLIC DISORDERS IN TEHRAN AND VIRTUAL ECONOMIC COLLAPSE OF COUNTRY OVER PAST TWO DAYS, PLUS LOOMING DISAPPEARANCE OF VITAL PETROLEUM PRODUCTS OVER NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS SUGGEST THAT VERY LITTLE TIME, IF ANY, REMAINS TO INDULGE IN LUXURY OF CABINET BUILDING. EVEN IF SADIQI WERE TO TAKE OVER TOMORROW, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT STRIKES WOULD CEASE INSTANTLY (OR EVEN AT ALL). THIS WOULD LEAVE NEW GOVT WITH SAME UNRELIABLE OPTIONS FACING PRESENT GOVT -- HARD-LINE MILITARY CRACKDOWN, OR SILENTLY STEALING AWAY.

4. UNFORTUNATELY FOR THOSE WHO ADVOCATE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED TOP POLITICAL FIGURES SHARE SENSE OF URGENCY AMEMBASSY FEELS SITUATION DEMANDS. WE HAVE HEARD STORIES THAT SADIQI IS RELUCTANT TO TAKE OVER NOW, PREFERING THAT MATTERS BECOME WORSE SO THAT HIS GOVT WILL HAVE A BETTER CHANCE TO SURVIVE. AMEMBASSY WHO HAS HAD EVEN MODDING ACQUAINTANCESHIP WITH TEHRAN STREETS OR ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER PAST FEW DAYS UNDERSTANDS THAT THE FUTURE IS NOW. BREAKDOWN OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FABRIC WILL BE NEARLY COMPLETE WHEN REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS ARE GONE. SULLIVAN

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 TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
 ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
 RUEHRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 4170  
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0913  
 RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0578  
 RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 4059  
 RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8157  
 RUTACL/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4091  
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5548  
 RUSBKR/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6894  
 RUHOLD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4318  
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE  
 RUQMPL/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9391  
 RUEHQQA/ CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII IMMEDIATE 2156  
 RUFEFT/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 8802

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S E C R E T STATE 327062

STUTTGART FOR ELG

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/29/84 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 58, 12/29/78

1. TEHRAN WAS QUIETER THIS MORNING THAN IT HAD BEEN FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE FOCUS TODAY WAS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE WITH THE EMBASSY HEARING FROM A FORMER GOI MINISTER THAT THE AZFARI GOVERNMENT "DEFINITELY WOULD RESIGN DECEMBER 30." ADDITIONALLY, DR. SHAH-POUR BAKHTIAR, NATIONAL FRONT LEADER WITH SOMEWHAT DUBIOUS CREDENTIALS, TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THE SHAH HAD GIVEN HIM A MANDATE DECEMBER 28 TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. HE WISHED TO SEE AN EMBASSY OFFICER DECEMBER 30, AND HOPED FOR U.S. SUPPORT. FURTHER, AN AMERICAN PRESS SOURCE REPORTS GREAT ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF ZAHEDI. ALL OF THE INTERLOCUTORS SEEM CERTAIN THE SADIQI EFFORT HAS FAILED.

2. MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS AGREE THAT THE SHAH STILL RETAINS AT LEAST THE POWER TO EFFECT AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH THEY DEMAND. UNDER THIS CONCEPT, A REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD EXERCISE THE SHAH'S

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EXECUTIVE POWERS AFTER HE HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY. IT WOULD APPOINT A PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET. THESE OPPOSITIONISTS FEAR THE CHAOTIC SITUATION THAT COULD RESULT FROM AN UNPLANNED DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH.

3. THE FRENCH DOMESTIC NEWS SERVICE REPORTS IN PARIS THAT KHOMEINI HAS BEEN GRANTED PERMISSION TO STAY IN FRANCE WHEN HIS CURRENT VISITOR'S PERMIT EXPIRES NEXT WEEK. THE FRENCH EMBASSY WASHINGTON TELLS US THAT NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BUT A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS ANTICIPATED. IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT KHOMEINI HAS CALLED FOR A DAY OF NATIONAL MOURNING IN IRAN TOMORROW, THE END OF MOHARRAM.

4. CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION WAS SCHEDULED TO BE 319,000 BARRELS, APPARENTLY ABOUT THE SAME AS YESTERDAY. ALL PRODUCTION WILL BE DELIVERED TO THE ABADAN REFINERY. ANOTHER PRODUCTION UNIT WILL BE SHUT DOWN DECEMBER 30 CAUSING A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL PRODUCTION DROP. THE IMPACT IS COMPOUNDED SINCE THE UNIT PROVIDES NATURAL GAS TO ABADAN, WHOSE REFINERY RELIES HEAVILY ON THE GAS FOR FUEL. THE AVAILABILITY OF GASOLINE IN TEHRAN HAS WORSENEDED.

5. THE OPPOSITION HAS STATED THAT THE OIL WORKERS HAVE OFFERED TO RETURN TO WORK IF: THE GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES THAT ALL PRODUCTION IS USED INTERNALLY, AND PARTICULARLY THAT NONE OF IT IS EXPORTED TO ISRAEL. THE WORKERS WOULD MONITOR DISTRIBUTION.

6. OUR CONSUL IN TABRIZ WAS TOLD BY THE MANAGER THAT HE EXPECTS STRIKERS TO SHUT THE LOCAL REFINERY TOMORROW. STOCKS OF KEROSENE FOR HEATING ARE ENOUGH FOR A WEEK; OTHER PRODUCTS ARE IN SLIGHTLY BETTER SUPPLY. THE OPINION IS UNANIMOUS AMONG ALL THE CONSUL'S CONTACTS THAT THE SHAH MUST GO.

7. THERE WAS ANOTHER PEACEFUL MARCH OF SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS IN ISFAHAN. THE MOB WAS IN A HOLIDAY MOOD AND THE SECURITY FORCES KEPT THEIR DISTANCE.

8. GRUMMAN HAS DECIDED IN SHIRAZ TO REDUCE ITS STAFF TO AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM AND MOVE REMAINING PERSONNEL ON TO THE AIR BASE. THIS IS EXPECTED TO AFFECT THE F-14 PROGRAM.

9. THE IRAN-AMERICAN SOCIETY IN AHWAZ WAS BROKEN INTO DECEMBER 29 LATE IN THE AFTERNOON BY A CROWD OF ABOUT 70 PEOPLE AND SUFFERED CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE. NEWSOM

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TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
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RUETHAO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0961  
RUOMAM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0610  
RUEHCA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 4076  
RUEEME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8204  
RUTAGL/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4127  
RUZHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5574  
RUFHET/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 8821  
RUSBYR/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6910  
RUFHOD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4323  
RUQMPL/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9401  
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RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE  
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STUTTGART FOR ELG

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/30/78 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 59, 12/30/78

1. SEVERAL THOUSAND DEMONSTRATORS TODAY SURROUNDED THE AMERICAN CONSULATE COMPOUND IN TABRIZ, BUT ONLY SOME OF THEM ACTUALLY ENTERED THE COMPOUND AFTER SMASHING THE FRONT GATES. THESE DEMONSTRATORS SET SOME SMALL FIRES, BUT CAUSED LITTLE DAMAGE. THEY WERE REPELLED BY THE IRANIAN SECURITY FORCE STATIONED AT THE CONSULATE WHO USED TEAR GAS AND FIRING OVER THE HEADS OF DEMONSTRATORS TO STOP THEM. REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVED QUICKLY AND THE CROWD WAS DISPERSED. THERE WERE NO INJURIES TO ANYONE AND THE CONSUL AND HIS IRANIAN STAFF ARE SAFE AND WELL. THE TURKISH CONSULATE WAS ALSO ATTACKED.

2. THE SITUATION IN TEHRAN CONTINUED "NORMAL," WITH SCATTERED DEMONSTRATIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH TEHRAN, CAR BURNINGS, BONFIRES FUELED BY GARBAGE AND AUTO TIRES, AND DEMONSTRATORS PLACING ANTI-SHAH LEAFLETS ON CAR WINDSHIELDS. IRANIAN ARMY FORCES GUARDING THE

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EMBASSY HAVE BEEN REINFORCED IN RESPONSE TO RUMORS ABOUT IMPENDING ATTACKS ON THE EMBASSY AND PERIODICALLY FIRE AIRBURSTS TO DISCOURAGE GROUPS OF DEMONSTRATING YOUTHS. AS A RESULT OF GASOLINE SHORTAGE, AS WELL AS THE KHOMEINI-ORDERED "DAY OF MOURNING" (IN MEMORY OF QOM RIOTS NEARLY A YEAR AGO THAT STARTED THE UNREST), TRAFFIC IN TEHRAN WAS LIGHT. THERE WERE LONG LINES OUTSIDE FILLING STATIONS AND KEROSENE MERCHANTS. AS A CONSERVATION MEASURE IRANIAN RADIO AND TV BROADCASTING HAS BEEN REDUCED. RADIO IRAN BROADCASTS HAVE ALSO BEGUN TO PREPARE THE PEOPLE FOR AN EXPECTED SHORTAGE OF BREAD AS A RESULT OF FUEL SHORTAGE-RELATED DIFFICULTIES IN FLOUR MILLS, BAKERIES AND THE TRANSPORTATION SECTOR.

3. ACCORDING TO REPORTS FROM OUR CONSUL IN SHIRAZ, NUMEROUS DEMONSTRATIONS ACCOMPANIED BY FIRING BY THE SECURITY FORCES TOOK PLACE IN SHIRAZ -- BUT THIS IS BY NOW BECOMING THE NORM IN MAJOR IRANIAN CITIES.

4. SHAHPUR BAKHTIAR CONFIRMED TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE SHAH HAS ASKED HIM TO FORM A CABINET AND NOTED THAT HE EXPECTS TO BE SWORN IN BY JANUARY 3 OR 4. BAKHTIAR CLAIMS THAT HE WILL BE PERMITTED TO NAME ALL HIS MINISTERS, THAT FREE PRESS AND SPEECH WILL BE REINSTATED IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE, THAT MARTIAL LAW WILL BE PHASED OUT GRADUALLY, AND THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS APPOINTMENT WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT FROM THE SHAH EMPHASIZING IMPERIAL ACCEPTANCE OF A CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION WHEREBY HE WOULD REIGN BUT NOT RULE. ACCORDING TO BAKHTIAR, AT SOME POINT AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER, THE SHAH WILL TAKE AN EXTENDED VACATION. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT BAKHTIAR ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION. HE CLAIMS TO HAVE WORKED OUT THE SUPPORT OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI, THE LEADING RELIGIOUS FIGURE IN IRAN. HE WILL SEEK SUPPORT FROM MEHDI BAZARGAN, LEADER OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN. THE NATIONAL FRONT HAS ANNOUNCED ITS OPPOSITION TO BAKHTIAR'S EFFORTS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. THE BAZAARIS ARE DIVIDED ABOUT BAKHTIAR, WHICH IS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGING. FEAR OF A HARSH MILITARY GOVERNMENT LED BY HARD-LINE OFFICERS MAY RESULT IN SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR AS THE BEST OF A SERIES OF BAD ALTERNATIVES.

5. IRANIAN OIL PRODUCTION TODAY WAS ONLY 231,000 BARRELS, ALL OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO THE ABADAN REFINERY. OSCO EMPLOYEES IN AHAWAZ HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO FURTHER THREATS AND, AS A RESULT OF THIS THE SECURITY SITUATION AND THE INABILITY TO WORK OWING TO STRIKES, OSCO DEPENDENTS AND SOME EMPLOYEES, AS WELL AS THOSE OF MOST OIL SERVICE COM-

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PANIES, HAVE STARTED LEAVING IRAN TODAY ON A SERIES OF CHARTER FLIGHTS, PRIMARILY TO ATHENS. MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE IN TOUCH WITH STRIKERS, REPORTEDLY TO WORK OUT THE RETURN TO WORK OF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PERSONNEL TO PERMIT PRODUCTION FOR DOMESTIC NEEDS ONLY.

NIOC CHAIRMAN ENTEZAM HAS AGREED TO DEMANDS THAT NO CRUDE OIL WILL BE EXPORTED. HE HAS APPARENTLY ALSO AGREED TO WITHDRAW THE MILITARY FROM OSCO OFFICES AND OIL FIELD FACILITIES. THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT A COMPROMISE CAN BE WORKED OUT WITH THE STRIKERS. VANCE  
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S E C R E T

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12794

CHRG: STATE 12/31/78  
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DRFTD: POL:JDS TEMPEL:HS  
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LIMDIS

E.O. 12958: RDS-4 12/31/98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINT, PINR, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: MINATCHI VIEWS ON BAKHTIAR EFFORT TO FORM GOVT

SUMMARY: MINATCHI BELIEVES BAKHTIAR WILL SUCCEED IN FORMING GOVT BECAUSE MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS WILL NOT OPPOSE HIM AND SOME WILL WORK TO HELP. SANJABI OUTBURST AGAINST BAKHTIAR SEEN AS UNFORTUNATE, BUT IRRELEVANT. BAZARGAN WILL NOT OPPOSE BAKHTIAR, BUT WILL PROBABLY REFRAIN FROM FINAL COMMITMENT UNTIL HE RETURNS FROM SOUTH, WHERE HIS INITIATIVE TO END OIL STRIKE IS PROGRESSING WELL. AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI CONSIDERING PUBLIC CALL OPPOSING VIOLENCE AGAINST FOREIGNERS. SHAHAB FERDOZ EXPECTED TO BE BAKHTIAR'S JUSTICE MINISTER. END SUMMARY

1. ENBOFF STEMPEL REVIEWED PRESENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITH DR. MINATCHI AT HIS HOSSEINIYEH ERSHAD (RELIGIOUS SCHOOL) OFFICE AFTERNOON DEC 31. MINATCHI THOUGHT BAKHTIAR WOULD SURELY SUCCEED IN FORMING NEW GOVT, SINCE MODERATE CLERGY FAVORED HIS EFFORTS ENOUGH TO REFRAIN FROM OPPOSING HIM. DR. KARIM SANJABI'S BLAST AT BAKHTIAR EVENING DEC 30 WAS UNFORTUNATE, BUT WOULD NOT MATTER IN FACE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS' TACIT SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR.

2. ENGINEER MEHDI BAZARGAN, LIBERATION MOVEMENT (LMI) LEADER WILL ALSO ACQUIESCE IN BAKHTIAR TO EXTENT OF NOT OPPOSING HIM, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, BUT WILL PROBABLY NOT MAKE HIS FINAL POSITION KNOWN UNTIL HE RETURNS FROM ABWAZ IN TWO OR THREE DAYS. MINATCHI SAID BAZARGAN HAD RECEIVED LETTERS FROM BOTH KHOMEINI AND SHARIAT-MADARI NAMING HIM PERSONALLY TO HEAD MISSION TO OIL FIELDS. OTHER MEMBERS OF FIVE-MAN COMMITTEE ARE AYATOLLAH HASHEMI RAFSANJANI, ENG. KATIRAAH (PHONETIC), ENG. HASIBI, AND ENG. SADAQIAN. SIGNIFICANCE OF BAZARGAN BEING NAMED PERSONALLY IS THAT THIS GIVES HIM ECCLESIASTICAL NOD WHEN HE WANTS TO FORM GOVT -- PRESUMABLY, SAID MINATCHI, THE ONE WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY SUCCEED BAKHTIAR AFTER NEXT SPRING'S ELECTIONS. MINATCHI ADDED THAT ARDESHIR ZAHEDI HAD REPORTEDLY OFFERED TO SELL A BAZARGAN-LED CABINET TO THE SHAH, BUT THIS WOULD PRESUMABLY OCCUR ONLY IF BAKHTIAR'S INITIATIVE DID NOT WORK OUT AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS DID NOT QUITE TRUST ZAHEDI.

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3. MINATCHI SAID COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) WOULD BE MEETING AT 4 P.M. DEC 31 AND WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY PUT WEIGHT OF ITS VARIOUS GROUPS BEHIND BAKHTIAR INITIATIVE. MINATCHI WOULD CALL SHARIAT-MADARI WHEN RESULTS OF THIS MEETING ARE KNOWN, AND VISIT HIM IN QOM ON JAN 3 FOR FINAL CEMENTING OF MODERATE SUPPORT OF BAKHTIAR CABINET. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S

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QUESTION WHETHER CONDITIONS IN STREETS WOULD ALLOW THAT MUCH DELAY. MINATCHI SAID CONDITIONS WERE MUCH BETTER DEC 31 SINCE IT BECAME KNOWN THAT SHAH WAS READY TO LEAVE (COMMENT: IF SO, IMPROVEMENT WAS VERY MARGINAL). IN ANY EVENT, SHARIAT-MADARI WAS CONTEMPLATING ISSUANCE OF AN ELAMIEH (ANNOUNCEMENT) CALLING ON THE RELIGIOUS FAITHFUL NOT TO ATTACK FOREIGN BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND PRAISING STEPS TAKEN TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD AVOID BLOODSHED. IN REPLY TO QUESTION, EMBOFF AGREED THIS WOULD BE A VERY USEFUL WAY TO PERHAPS DEFUSE SOME OF THE ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING WHICH HAD BEEN GROWING IN RECENT DAYS.

4. COMMENT: THOUGH GENERALLY AN OPTIMIST, MINATCHI WAS ABLE TO TICK OFF SEVERAL SOLID REASONS FOR HIS BELIEF BAKHTIAR WOULD SUCCEED, AND HIS OWN ATTITUDE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE VERY MUCH WANTED BAKHTIAR TO FORM GOVT AND THAT MANY OTHER MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS WERE WILLING TO GRACEFULLY ACQUIESCE IN BAKHTIAR EFFORT FOR SAKE OF COUNTRY. IF SHARIAT-MADARI AND BAZARGAN POSITIONS COME CLOSE TO WHAT MINATCHI SAYS THEY ARE, THIS WOULD IMPROVE BAKHTIAR'S CHANCES. MINATCHI SAID HE HOPES TO LEARN OF CABINET NAMES LATER, BUT KNEW THAT JUSTICE MINISTER-DESIGNATE IS SHAHAB FERDOUZ, FORMER JUDGE AND A LEADING PROGRESSIVE LAWYER. SULLIVAN  
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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/31/78 (PRECED, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. WE NOTE PARS NEWS AGENCY AND SHAPOUR BAKHTIAR HAVE STATED THAT THE SHAH PLANS TO TAKE A TEMPORARY LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY AT AN UNSPECIFIED TIME IN THE FUTURE. THIS REPORT HAS ALSO BEEN DENIED IN PRESS STORIES BY SOURCES AT MINISTRY OF COURT AND BY AMBASSADOR ZAHEDI. DO YOU HAVE AUTHENTICATIVE INFORMATION?

2. IF IT IS TRUE THAT SHAH WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY SO AS TO FACILITATE BAKHTIAR'S JOB OF ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT, WE WONDER WHY THE SHAH DID NOT AGREE TO THE SAME CONDITION WITH SADIOI, APPARENTLY A STRONGER CANDIDATE FOR THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP THAN BAKHTIAR. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS. NEWSOM

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TAGS: PINK, IR

SUBJECT: COMMENTS OF JAMSHID HORMOZI, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE  
- IRANIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION IN AUSTRIA

1. JAMSHID HORMOZ IS AUSTRIAN-EDUCATED ARCHITECT WHO IS PRESIDENT OF ANTI-SHAH IRANIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION SINCE HIS STUDENT DAYS IN VIENNA. HE WAS IDENTIFIED AS SUCH WHILE ATTENDING A MEETING OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN EAST GERMANY AND WAS ARRESTED UPON HIS RETURN TO IRAN IN 1971 ALTHOUGH HORMOZ CLAIMS THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE FEDERATION WAS NOT AT THAT TIME ILLEGAL. ACCORDING TO HORMOZ HE WAS INTERROGATED, TORTURED (INCLUDING BEING PHOWN DOWN A STAIRCASE, WHICH LATER REQUIRED AN OPERATION FOR A RUPTURED DISC) AND KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR 14 MONTHS WITHOUT EVER BEING FORMALLY CHARGED. AFTER 18 MONTHS IN PRISON HE WAS BROUGHT TO TRIAL, WITH 22 MINUTES' NOTICE AND NO PRIOR PREPARATION, FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED TO 19 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT, WHICH INCLUDED THE 18 MONTHS HE HAD ALREADY SERVED. DURING DECEMBER 71 LUNCH AT HOME OF DR. HORMOZ MEBABADI, HORMOZ MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS TO EMROFF:

1. CLAIMING THAT HIS VIEWS ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF A MAJORITY OF IRANIAN STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY, FORQI STATED THAT THE IDEAL OUTCOME OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL STRIFE WOULD BE NOT ONLY THE ABDICATION OF THE SHAH BUT THE FORMATION OF A PEOPLE'S COURT TO TRY HIM FOR HIS CRIMES. THE COURT SHOULD BE HELD IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH IRANIAN LAW AND SHOULD PERMIT THE SHAH THE BEST LEGAL COUNSEL IN IRAN OR FROM ANY OTHER COUNTRY WHICH WOULD BE WILLING TO DEFEND HIM. FORQI WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE RESULT OF ANY FAIR LEGAL PROCESS AGAINST THE SHAH WOULD BE NO MAIL THAT SHOULD GO TO THE WALL (LITERAL TRANSLATION WHICH CONVEYS THE FEELING ACCURATELY). HOWEVER, FORQI FEELS THAT THE ACTUAL OUTCOME OF THE POLITICAL STRIFE IN IRAN AND THE FORM OF ANY FUTURE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY VOTE OF THE PEOPLE. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD REINFORCE THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL VIEWS.

3. ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES IS AN ANTI-AMERICAN AND INSISTS THAT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE U.S. PEOPLE, BOLSONARO IS OBVIOUSLY OPPOSED TO U.S. POLICY IN IRAN. THE U.S. POLICY, IN FACT, HAS SPANDED NO LESSONS FROM ITS SUPPORT OF DICER IN SOUTH AMERICA, CHILE AND VIET NAM AND HAS REPEATED THE SAME MISTAKES IN IRAN. U.S. POLICYMAKERS HAVE RESTRICTED THEIR CIRCLE OF CONTACTS TO THOSE CLOSE TO THE SHAH AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY VIEWED IRAN THROUGH AN IMPERIAL PRISM. MOREOVER, THE USG HAS FOUND THE SHAH ALWAYS WILLING TO GIVE WHAT IT WANTED AND CON-

CONFIDENTIAL

## THE RAIN

1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 26

**PERMANENT**

SECURELY THE U.S. WISHES TO SEE MANY THINGS AND  
NECESSES FOR THE ISRAELI PEOPLE. THE ISRAELI PEOPLE  
ARE NOT YET COMBINING THEM. THE U.S. CONTAINS  
U.S. PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAELI PEOPLE. THE  
PEOPLE OF THE U.S. ARE NOT YET COMBINING THEM FOR ANY  
FUTURE ISRAELI IMPROVEMENT IN THE U.S. ISRAELI  
ISRAELI

**L. M. C.**

4454

101

TECH

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 000

C 021405Z JAN 79  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2613  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 00063

URGENT: STATE 1-2-  
APPROV: DOM:GNAAS  
DRETD: POL:STESCU  
CLEAR: POL:3ELAMBI  
ISTR: POL-3 AME  
ECON-2 PM  
OR SHIP TAI  
CHRON/14

L.O. 12065: RGDS 1-1-84 (ESCUDECO, S.T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINR, IR  
SUBJECT: MOHAMMAD HOSSAIN KHAN QASHQAI COMMENTS ON  
BAKHTIAR CANDIDACY AND GENERAL FEREIDUN JAM

1. DURING JAN 1 DISCUSSION WITH MOHAMMAD HOSSAIN KHAN (MHK) QASHQAI IN LATTER'S APARTMENT, QASHQAI IL-KHAN COMMENTED TO EMBOFF THAT QASHQAI FAMILY WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT SHAHPOUR BAKHTIAR AS PRIME MINISTER UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS. FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GOES BACK TO TIME OF REZA SHAH, AND THE BAKHTIAR AND QASHQAI FAMILIES HAVE FREQUENTLY INTERMARRIED FOR THE PAST 150 YEARS. HOWEVER, MHK EMPHASIZED THAT QASHQAI SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR'S GOVERNMENT, SHOULD ONE BE FORMED, WOULD BE MUCH GREATER "IF SHAHPOUR DOES NOT COME WITH EMPTY HANDS." MHK BELIEVES THAT, SHOULD BAKHTIAR ASSUME THE PRIME MINISTRY JAN 3 WITHOUT ANNOUNCING THE SHAH'S IMMINENT DEPARTURE, FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT OR WHATEVER, THE PEOPLE WILL BE DEMONSTRATING IN THE STREETS AGAINST BAKHTIAR BY JAN 6. DURING CONVERSATION MHK RECEIVED PHONE CALL FROM GATCHSARAN DESCRIBING DEMONSTRATION THERE BY 3000 BAKHTIARIS AND QASHQAIS AND NOTING THAT SHOULD BAKHTIAR ACCEPT THE PRIME MINISTRY WITHOUT WRINGING CONCESSIONS FROM THE SHAH, THIS WOULD BRING SHAME TO THE BAKHTIARIS AND HIS SUPPORT AMONG THE TRIBE WOULD WANE.

2. ACCORDING TO MHK, THE PEOPLE WILL BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT THE KEROSENE AND GASOLINE SHORTAGES AND MORE INTERESTED IN BAKHTIAR'S ACTIONS REGARDING SAVAK AND THE ARMY. THE SECURITY ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE DISBANDED AND, IF SOME SIMILAR ORGANIZATION MUST EXIST, ITS NAME MUST BE CHANGED. MARTIAL LAW MUST SOON BE ENDED AND MANY OF THE TOP GENERALS RELIEVED OF THEIR POSITIONS. MHK, WHO IS NOT FOND OF IRAN'S MILITARY LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY GEN. OVEISSI, CAUTIONED EMBOFF NOT TO THINK OF IRANIAN GENERALS IN SAME TERMS AS ALLIED WWII COMMANDERS BUT RATHER AS SYCOPHANTS IN UNIFORM WHO OBTAINED THEIR POSITIONS THROUGH LOYALTY RATHER THAN MILITARY ABILITY. EXCEPTION IS GEN. FEREIDUN JAM, WHO MHK EXPECTS TO SEE JAN 2, WHOSE FALL FROM GRACE RESULTED FROM THREE FACTORS:

--JAM'S DESCRIPTION OF ORDER TO FIRE ON 1971 DEMONSTRATORS MARCHING TO TEHRAN FROM KARAJ AS "STUPID". JAM HAD NOT REALIZED THAT THEN SAVAK CHIEF NASSIRI HAD CONSULTED SHAH, WHO WAS THEN IN PAKISTAN, AND OBTAINED IMPERIAL PERMISSION TO FIRE;

--JAM'S OPPOSITION TO PURCHASE OF NEW MILITARY SYSTEMS BEFORE (IRANIAN PERSONNEL FULLY TRAINED TO CARE AND MAINTAIN SYSTEMS ALREADY IN HAND. HIS OPPOSITION WAS REPORTED TO SHAH BY GEN. TOUFANIAN AND DR. AYADI;

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 000

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 000

--JAM'S REMARKS, IN PAKISTAN, THAT HE LOVED SHAH LIKE A BROTHER, WHICH THE SHAH FOUND PRESUMPTUOUS.

3. MHK, WHO MET WITH BAKHTIAR THIS MORNING AND EXPECTS TO SEE HIM AGAIN JAN 2, DESCRIBED HIM AS SOMEWHAT TOO PLAIN-SPAKING FOR A SUCCESSFUL POLITICIAN. ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF RELIGION, WHERE BAKHTIAR MAKES CLEAR HIS DISTASTE FOR KHOMEINI. MHK FEELS BAKHTIAR WOULD DO BETTER TO REMAIN SILENT.

4. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR TO MHK IF BAKHTIAR WILL SUCCEED IN FORMING A CABINET. SANJABI'S DECISION TO READ HIM OUT OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AND FEELINGS AMONG MEMBERS OF BAKHTIAR'S IRAN PARTY THAT HE HAS TOO GREAT A TENDENCY TOWARD UNILATERAL, UNCOORDINATED ACTION WILL EAT INTO HIS SUPPORT.

5. HOMAN KHAN QASHQAI, MHK'S SON, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BAKHTIAR'S PROGRAM AND THE ONE WHICH SANJABI PUT FORWARD. THEREFORE, WHY SHOULD THE SHAH NOT CHOOSE SANJABI, WHO ENJOYS WIDER SUPPORT, AS PRIME MINISTER? HIS FATHER REPLIED THAT, FIRST OF ALL, BAKHTIAR IS NOT A KHOMEINI MAN. SECONDLY, BAKHTIAR APPROACHED THE QUESTION OF THE SHAH'S DEPARTURE DELICATELY WHEREAS SANJABI RAISED IT IMMEDIATELY AND FORCEFULLY IN HIS TALK WITH THE MONARCH. THE MOMENT HE DID SO THE SHAH ENDED THEIR CONVERSATION SAYING THAT THERE WAS NOTHING FURTHER TO DISCUSS.

6. HOMAN ALSO NOTED THE INCREASING REPETITION AMONG TEHRAN'S GOSSIP MILL OF THE VIEW THAT FOREIGNERS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE IRAN AS THEY WILL BE NEEDED TO HELP RUN THE COUNTRY'S ESSENTIAL UTILITIES AND INDUSTRIES AFTER THE SHAH LEAVES. AT THE SAME TIME HOMAN FULLY EXPECTS THAT, SHOULD THE SHAH REMAIN, LATER RETURN, OR SHOULD A CIVILIAN GOVT NOT WORK OUT, FOREIGNERS AND ESPECIALLY AMERICANS WILL BECOME THE TARGETS OF VIOLENT PHYSICAL ATTACK BY GUERRILLA GROUPS. BOTH HOMAN AND HIS FATHER BELIEVE THAT THE SHAH IS CLEVER ENOUGH TO ENGINEER

BT

#0063

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 0063/1

103



CONFIDENTIAL

TEHR

TEHRAN

O 021405Z JAN 79  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2614  
BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 TEHRAN 00063

HIS RETURN TO IRAN ON THE HEELS OF A MILITARY COUP ONCE  
A CIVILIAN GOVT HAS BEEN IN OFFICE LONG ENOUGH TO SHOW  
ITSELF INEPT. MHY DESCRIBED THE SHAH AS THE MOST INTELLI-  
GENT RULER IRAN HAS HAD FOR TWO CENTURIES BUT UNDONE BY  
TWO FLAWS: HIS INABILITY TO KEEP HIS WORD AND HIS GREED  
FOR MONEY AND POWER. SULLIVAN  
BT  
#0063

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN

104

CONFIDENTIAL 4 JAN 79

TEHRAN  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC  
PRIORITY 0134  
BT  
CONFIDENTIAL STATE 000933

E.O. 12065: OPS 1/3/85 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: KHOSROW GHASHEGHAI

1. KHOSROW GHASHEGHAI CALLED ON NEA/IRN JANUARY 2 TO OFFER  
HIS VIEWS OF IRANIAN CRISIS. GHASHEGHAI STATED FLATLY THAT  
NO SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE WHILE THE SHAH REMAINED IN IRAN.  
HE URGED THE U.S. TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH MOHAMED  
FORCES WHICH HE REGARDED AS THE MOST POTENT IN THE COUNTRY.  
HE INDICATED THERE WAS SOME DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN  
HIMSELF AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY AND THAT HIS FATHER  
WAS RETURNING TO IRAN IN THE HOPE THAT HE WOULD BE ARRESTED  
AND BECOME A SYMBOL OF GHASHEGHAI OPPOSITION TO THE SHAH.  
HE INDICATED ABSOLUTELY NO CONFIDENCE THAT BAKHTIAR WOULD  
BE ABLE TO FORM A VIABLE GOVERNMENT AND NO SYMPATHY FOR THE  
PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S EFFORTS.

2. GHASHEGHAI LEFT WASHINGTON HEADED FOR MUNICH WHERE HE  
RESIDES.

3. WE REPORT THIS FOR THE RECORD, HAVING NO UNDERSTANDING  
OF ITS IMPORTANCE FOR IRANIAN OR TRIPAL POLITICS.  
BT  
#00933

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CONFIDENTIAL

2

GHASHEGHAI, KHOSROW

S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

O 032923Z JAN 76  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SFCSTATE WASHDC NIACT 1006110000 0009  
BT  
S E C R E T TEHRAN 00094

CERGE: 57/TE 1-3-  
APPRV: PUNOWNAA  
REFTE: POL:STESCU  
CLEAR: POL:GBLAME  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB  
ECOA-2 PM  
CR SHIR TA  
ISF CHRON

E.O. 12065: R0DS 1-2-85 (ESCUDTRO, S.T.) CR-P  
TAGS: PINR, IR  
SUBJECT: BAZAARI VIEWS ON BAKHTIAR CANDIDACY AND ON  
CONTINUING CONFRONTATION

SUMMARY: PROMINENT BAZAARI REFLECTS EXTREMELY EMOTIONAL  
HATRED OF REGIME AND ITS (BELIEVED) CRUELITIES. ADVICE TO  
AMERICANS IS THAT WE SHALL SUFFER FOR OUR SUPPORT OF THE  
SHAH. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF MET JAN 2 WITH INFLUENTIAL BAZAARI MERCHANT HAJI  
ALI ASGHAR KASHANI, WHO STATED THAT, AFTER SOME DISCUSSION,  
BAZAARIS HAVE DECIDED NOT RPT NOT TO SUPPORT SHAHPOUR  
BAKHTIAR AS PRIME MINISTER. THEY REGARD HIM AS TOO CLOSE  
TO THE SHAH AND TOO MUCH AN OPPORTUNIST TO SUPPORT HIM  
EVEN IF BAKHTIAR PROVES ABLE TO ENGINEER THE SHAH'S  
DEPARTURE. SHOULD BAKHTIAR BECOME PRIME MINISTER THE  
BAZAAR WOULD CONTINUE TO BE CLOSED IN HOPES OF BRINGING  
HIM DOWN AND REPLACING HIM WITH THE ONE MAN WHO, KASHANI  
FEELS, IS TRULY THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE - KARIM SANJABI.

2. WHEN EMBOFF OPINED THAT CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO A  
CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH IS TRYING TO SATISFY THE DEMANDS  
OF THE PEOPLE COULD LEAD TO THE COMMISSION IN TEHRAN OF  
ATROCITIES SUCH AS THOSE RECENTLY PERPETRATED IN MASHAD,  
KASHANI REPLIED HEATEDLY THAT SUCH THINGS ARE ALREADY  
TAKING PLACE IN THE CAPITAL. ON DEC 31 A MOB ATTACKED  
THE HOME OF A SAVAK COLONEL WHO LIVED ON BAKAR STREET.  
COLONEL WAS TAKEN ALIVE AND DISMEMBERED BY THE CROWD WHILE  
HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN WERE BURNED IN THE FIRE WHICH LVELED  
THEIR THREE-STORY HOUSE. KASHANI CLAIMS TO HAVE SEEN THE  
WRECK OF THE HOUSE AND THE PORTIONS OF THE DEAD MAN'S  
BODY WHICH WERE DISPLAYED OUTSIDE IT ON JAN 1. IN THE  
ASHES IN THE BASEMENT, KASHANI SAID INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE  
WERE DISCOVERED. WHEN EMBOFF DEPICTED SAVAGERY OF THIS  
SORT BY EITHER SIDE, KASHANI BECAME EVEN MORE ANGRY. HE  
RELATED AN INCIDENT IN CAZVIN IN WHICH A CHILD WAS CRUSHED  
UNDER THE TREADS OF A TANK AND ITS MOTHER SPOT WHEN SHE  
RUSHED TO ATTEMPT A RESCUE. ALSO HE DESCRIBED THE JAN 2  
FUNERAL, WHICH HE ATTENDED, IN BEHEST-E-ZAHRA OF THREE  
YOUNG IRANIANS WHO ALLEGEDLY DIED DEC 30 UNDER TORTURE IN  
EVIN PRISON. THE BODIES WERE CARRIED UNWRAPPED ON BERS  
AROUND THE CEMETARY SO THAT THE CROWD THERE COULD SEE  
THE EXTENSIVE BURNS AND HANDS WITHOUT FINGERNAILS. IT IS  
PERFECTLY REASONABLE, KASHANI SHOUTED, FOR THE PEOPLE TO  
ATTACK THE SERVANTS OF A REGIME WHICH IS CAPABLE OF SUCH  
THINGS. (COMMENT: BY THIS POINT KASHANI WAS VERY ANGRY  
INDEED. ONE OF THESE DAYS EMBOFF EXPECTS TO SEE HIM FOAM  
AT THE MOUTH. END COMMENT.)

3. WHEN UNDER CONTROL AGAIN, KASHANI LAUNCHED A LONG  
PERORATION ON HOW THE BAZAARIS LAY ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY

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S E C R E T

S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

FOR ALL THESE CRIMES AT FEET OF U.S. FOR OUR LONG-TERM  
SUPPORT OF OUR PUPPET SHAH (SIC). KASHANI THEN REMARKED  
THAT GROWING ANGER OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST U.S. COULD LEAD  
TO ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS IN TEHRAN. IN THIS  
REGARD, HE CAUTIONED EMBOFF TO BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL AND TO  
SCALE DOWN HIS ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OF EMBASSY COMPOUND.

4. EMBASSY COMMENT: UNFORTUNATELY THE VOICE OF THIS  
BAZAARI ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE FEELINGS OF EVER LARGER  
SECTIONS OF IRAN'S POPULATION. EMBASSY IS INUNATED DAILY  
BY REQUESTS/ADVICE THAT WE DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SHAH WHO  
IS DRAGGING AMERICANS DOWN LIKE AN ANCHOR. SULLIVAN  
BT  
#0094

NNNN

S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

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CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 00237

0 200657 JAN 79  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2717  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00237

R.O. 12065: GDS 1/5/85 (ESCUERO, STANLEY T.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINE, IR  
SUBJECT: VIEWS OF MASHAD UNIVERSITY CHANCELLOR PARVIZ  
AMOUZEGAR ON BAKHTIAR PRIME MINISTRY AND IRAN'S FUTURE

CHRG: STATE 1/5/79  
APPRV: MIN:GWNAAS  
DRFTD: POL:STESCUDE  
CLEAR: NONE  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DOW  
ECON 2 PM ICA  
JR ADM SY DAO  
AFOSI CHRON

1. ACCORDING TO PARVIZ AMOUZEGAR, CHANCELLOR OF MASHAD UNIVERSITY, THE IRANIAN UNIVERSITY/INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY, PERHAPS EXCLUDING MANY STUDENTS, IS WILLING TO GIVE A BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT A FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE ITSELF. HOWEVER, UNIVERSITY/INTELLECTUAL OPPOSITION WILL PRESENT ITSELF ALMOST IMMEDIATELY IF BAKHTIAR'S INAUGURATION IS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT BY THE SHAH REGARDING HIS IMMINENT TRAVEL ABROAD FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT AND FOLLOWED VERY SHORTLY BY THE SHAH'S DEPARTURE. IT IS CLEAR THAT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION HAVE ALREADY CONDEMNED BAKHTIAR, DESPITE HIS MUCH-WELCOMED STATEMENT REGARDING THE 28TH MORDAD RETURN OF THE SHAH AS A COOPERATOR AND A NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT, AS A COLLABORATOR WITH THE PAVLAVI REGIME. ANTI-BAKHTIAR SLOGANS AND BANNERS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SEEN IN MASHAD AND EMROFF HAS OBSERVED ANTI-BAKHTIAR SLOGANS WRITTEN ON TEHRAN WALLS.

2. AMOUZEGAR, HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW ALI ZIAI, AND HIS SISTER MOHADDAREH ZIAI ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PREVAILING IRANIAN SENTIMENT LAYING MUCH OF THE BLAME FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAN AT THE FEET OF THE UNITED STATES. WHILE ADMITTING THAT THE U.S. HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DEAL WITH THE SHAH IN THE PAST, THEY CATALOGUED A SERIES OF U.S. POLICY ERRORS GOING BACK TO THE DAYS OF POINT FOUR PROGRAM AND INCLUDING POOR TARGETING OF CULTURAL PROGRAMS AND EXCHANGES, LIMITATION OF EMBASSY FACTS TO PRO-SHAH IRANIANS, ASSIGNMENT OF FORMER CIA DIRECTOR HELMS AS AMBASSADOR, CHANGE OF USIA TO ICA (MUCH LIKE CIA), LACK OF CONTINUITY AMONG AMERICAN OFFICIALS, AND PRESENT CONTINUING SUPPORT OF USG FOR A WHEN IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT VAST MAJORITY OF IRANIS DO NOT WANT HIM.

3. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ALL AGREED THAT SHAH SHOULD SOON, AMOUZEGAR ET AL. INSIST THAT IRAN NEEDS THE TUTORION OF THE SHAH AND FEEL THAT PRESENT SHAH IS ABLE TO RETURN TO IRAN IN A STRICTLY CONSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY IF HE IS WILLING TO DO SO. ONCE A GOVERNMENT HAS MANAGED TO GET MATTERS IN HAND, THE SHAH HAS, THROUGHOUT PRESENT CRISIS, GIVEN TOO LITTLE TO DAY AND HE RISKS WHATEVER OPPORTUNITY HE MAY HAVE TO RETURN, HIS PLACE IN HISTORY AND THE FUTURE OF THE PAVLAVI DYNASTY IF HE REFUSES TO LEAVE WITH DIGNITY. IRANIS WANTS BAKHTIAR IS THROWN OUT. SULEIMAN

0 061133Z JAN 79  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2735  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00268

R.O. 12065: RDS 1/6/84 (LAMBRAYIS, GEORGE B.) CR-P  
TAGS: P30V, IR  
SUBJECT: NEW CABINET PRESENTED

CHRG: STATE 1/6/79  
APPRV: MIN:GWNAAS  
DRFTD: POL:GBLAMBRAXIS  
CLEAR: NONE  
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DOW  
ECON-2 PM ICA  
CR ADM SY IAC  
AFOSI CHRON/15

1. CABINET ESSENTIALLY AS REPORTED BY WIRE SERVICES WAS PRESENTED THIS MORNING BY PM-DESIGNATE BAKHTIAR TO THE SHAH. APPOINTS ARE:

-- INTERIOR -- BAKHTIAR HIMSELF, INCLUDING CONTROL OVER POLICE, GENDARMINE, AND PRESUMABLY SAVAK

-- WAR -- GEN. FEREIDUN JAM (WHO IS ON WAY BACK FROM LONDON)

-- FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- AHMAD MIR-FENDERESKI, WHO WAS FIRED BY SHAH AS DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IN 1973 REPORTEDLY FOR EXCEEDING SHAH'S LIMITS ON SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS PERMITTED DURING 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

-- JUSTICE -- YAHYA SAFEQ-VAZIRI, A LAWYER AND CAREER JUDGE WHO IS KURDISH

-- INFORMATION AND TOURISM -- CYRUS AMUZEGAR, FORMERLY SOMETHING OF A LEFTIST, WRITER AND JOURNALIST, NOT CONNECTED WITH FORMER PM AMOUZEGAR'S FAMILY

-- ECONOMICS AND FINANCE -- RUSTAM PIRASTEH, INTERNATIONAL BANKER, FORMER CHASE MANHATTEN REP HERE

-- MOHAMMAD MCSHIRI-YEZDI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS, HIGH CIVIL SERVANT IN MINISTRY OF LABOR (INCLUDING PERMANENT DEPUTY) WHO SOUNDS LIKE AN OLD FRIEND OF BAKHTIAR'S

-- AGRICULTURE -- MANUCHEHR KAZEMI, EXPERIENCED IN PRO. BANK MELLI, GRADUATE OF HARVARD IN 1920S, FRIENDLY TO AMERICANS BUT CRITICAL OF THE REGIME.

-- INDUSTRY AND MINES -- ABBAS QOLI BAKHTIAR, A COUSIN OF PM'S WHO IS HIGH CIVIL SERVANT WITH NIOC BACKGROUND, HAVING SERVED IN FAIRLY RECENT POST AS UNDERSECY OF THIS MINISTRY, PERHAPS SENSITIVE ABOUT AMERICANS

-- EDUCATION -- DR. MOHAMMAD AMIN RIAHI, PROMINENT EDUCATIONALIST AND JOURNALIST

-- LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE -- MANUCHEHR ARIANA, CAREER CIVIL SERVANT IN LABOR DEPT WHO IS REPORTEDLY COUSIN OF RETIRED GENERAL ARIANA (ONE OF THOSE GENERALS MENTIONED AS ACCEPTABLE BY SOME OPPOSITIONISTS)

-- PPT LUTF-ALI SAMIMI, CAREER OFFICIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 00268

-- HEALTH - MANUCHEHR RAZMARA. U.S. EDUCATED PHYSICIAN

-- HOUSING - JAVAD KHADEM. VERY ACTIVE CONTRACTOR. CONSTRUCTION BUSINESS, REPORTEDLY EMOTIONAL AND PERHAPS ANTI-AMERICAN.

2. NONE OF APPOINTEES HAS SERVED AS MINISTER BEFORE. JAM AND MIR-FENDERFSZI HAVE BOTH BEEN AMBASSADORS. APART FROM OVERTONES OF SOME ANTI-REGIME POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN ONE OR TWO CASES (AMUZEGAR, KATAMI) CABINET IS COMPOSED OF TECHNOCRATS WITH LONG EXPERIENCE IN AREAS OF EXPERTISE AND (WE GATHER) CLEAN RECORDS ON CORRUPTION ISSUE.

3. CABINET CONTAINS NONE OF THE MORE POLITICAL OPPOSITIONISTS WHO WERE AT ONE POINT RUMORED TO BE JOINING. THESE INCLUDED PEOPLE SUCH AS HEAD OF TEACHER'S UNION MOHAMMAD DERAKHSHESH (FOR ARTS AND CULTURE), ENG. AHMAD MOSSADEGH, MOSSADEGH'S SON (FOR ROADS), AND EVEN PROMINENT CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS SPOKESMAN NASSER MINATCHI, ACCORDING TO RECENT RUMORS.

4. NUMBER OF MINISTERS REMAIN VACANT: COMMERCE, CULTURE, PLAN AND BUDGET (IF NOT ABOLISHED), ROADS, ENERGY, SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION, AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL MINISTERS OF STATE FOR THINGS SUCH AS PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS. THERE IS ALSO NO MINISTER OF ENDOWMENT AFFAIRS, AN AREA THAT MIGHT BE TURNED OVER TO THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS WE HAVE HAD.

5. MORE SPECIFIC BIO DATA AS WE DEVELOP IT. SULLIVAN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00295

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/7/85 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE B.) OR-7  
TAGS: PINS, PCOV, IR  
SUBJECT: ANOTHER MODERATE OPPOSITIONIST OPPOSES BAKHTIAR

REF: 78 TEHRAN 12702

1. HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION AND MODERATE OPPOSITION POLITICIAN MOHAMMAD DERAKHSHESH EXPRESSED TOTAL OPPOSITION TO BAKHTIAR GOVT IN BRIEF PHONE CONVERSATION WITH POL COUNSELOR TODAY, JAN 7. HE DENIED HE HAD EVER BEEN CANDIDATE FOR A POSITION (CONTRARY TO REPORTS EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED FROM OTHER SOURCES LAST WEEK) AND DENIGRATED QUALITY OF MINISTERS. SEVERAL OF HIS GROUP HAD TURNED DOWN OFFERS FROM BAKHTIAR.

2. IF ANY (SUCH AS SAMIMI) ARE MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION PARTIES, DERAKHSHESH SAID, THEY WERE FORTH RANK UNKNOWN. HE KNEW FOR A FACT THAT NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION (RIANI) WAS AN ACTIVE SAVAK AGENT; DERAKHSHESH HAD GOTTEN HIM A JOB YEARS AGO WHEN HE WAS AN UNEMPLOYED TEACHER. OTHERS IN THIS SUPPOSEDLY NEW GOVT WERE WORKING OFFICIALS UP TO RECENTLY AND MEMBERS OF RASTAKHIZ PARTY. THEIR APPOINTMENTS ARE A JOKE.

3. WHEN POL COUNSELOR ASKED WHAT DERAKHSHESH THOUGHT OF SHAH'S PLANS TO TAKE A VACATION, DERAKHSHESH SAID HE WAS NOT IMPRESSED. SHAH HAS TAKEN VACATIONS BEFORE, AND COME BACK. THAT IS NOT THE PERMANENT DEPARTURE THAT IS NECESSARY.

4. DERAKHSHESH SAID SHAH IS ALWAYS LATE WITH HIS DECISIONS. BAKHTIAR GOVT WOULD HAVE BEEN ANSWER A YEAR AGO, BUT TOO LATE NOW. COUNTRY'S SICKNESS REQUIRES REAL MEDICINE, NOT ROUND WHITE PILLS. HE AGAIN PUSHED HIS GROUP'S POSITION: SHAH MUST LEAVE SO THAT KHOMEINI LOSES MUCH OF HIS POWER, ALLOWING MODERATES OF THE CENTER TO COME INTO THEIR OWN.  
5. DERAKHSHESH'S WEEKLY (ON ITS THIRD ISSUE) ATTACKED BAKHTIAR YESTERDAY. SULLIVAN

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TEHRAN

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00300

E.O. 12065: RDS 1-7-99 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: POLITICAL BROKER IS DISCOURAGED; YET ANOTHER  
MODERATE POLITICAL GROUP FORMED.

SUMMARY: LONG-TIME POLITICAL BROKER IS DISCOURAGED BY  
GOI'S CONTINUED INEPTITUDE. HE SEES TUDEH (COMMUNIST)  
PARTY BECOMING VERY ACTIVE. HIS CURRENT EFFORTS ARE  
DIRECTED TO MOLDING A MODERATE GROUP BEHIND ALI AMINI WHICH  
WILL BE VEHICLE FOR SUPPORT OF BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT UNTIL  
ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF MET JAN 4 WITH HEDAYAT ESLAMINIA, POLITICAL  
BROKER OF SOME YEARS' STANDING WITH WHOM EMBASSY HAS BEEN  
COMMUNICATING REGULARLY FOR BETTER PART OF A YEAR. HE WAS  
FRANKLY DISCOURAGED AT TURN OF EVENTS; GOI HAD REMAINED  
SURPRISINGLY INEPT AT HANDLING CRISIS AND AS A RESULT,  
TUDEH PARTY ACTIVITY WAS BECOMING MORE WIDESPREAD. HE  
SAID SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH HAD NOTED OLD-  
LINE TUDEH ORGANIZERS INVOLVED IN RECENT LABOR DISTURBANCES  
(COMMENT: THIS SQUARES WITH WHAT WE'VE HEARD FROM OTHER  
SOURCES, AS WELL).

2. ESLAMINIA THEN SAID HE HAD GATHERED A NUMBER OF FRIENDS  
IN VARIOUS POSITIONS TOGETHER TO FORM A GROUP BEHIND  
ALI AMINI. THIS GROUP WOULD SUPPORT THE BAKHTIAR GOVERN-  
MENT, BUT PREPARE ITSELF FOR ELECTIONS. HE LISTED THE  
FOLLOWING AS INITIAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP: MR. (FNU)  
FAZAEI, EX-MARIOM PARTY LEADER; ABDUL HOSSEIN TABATABATAI,  
FORMER SHIRAZ MAJLES DEPUTY; NASSER ZEHTABFARD, DIRECTOR  
OF ASNAF (PRICE MONITORING GROUP); MANUCHEHR SAED-VAZIRI,  
FORMER MAJLES DEPUTY PRESENTLY A NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST;  
MR. HEYMAT YAZDI, A BUSINESSMAN; MR. TEYMOUR AND  
MR. REZAN, FROM ASNAF; HAJ KARIM HOSSEINI, A BAZAARI WHO  
SUPPORTS AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI; AND HASSAN KHAN BAYAT, HEAD  
OF THE FARMER'S GUILD. GROUP WAS MERELY WAITING GO AHEAD  
SIGNAL FROM ALI AMINI TO FORMALLY ORGANIZE.

3. COMMENT: GROUP IS SIMILAR TO MANY NOW FORMING, AND IF  
IT TRULY GETS ORGANIZED, EMBASSY WILL REPORT FURTHER.  
MOST SUCH MODERATE GROUPS, AS OF JAN 7, ARE GIVING SUPPORT  
TO BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT. SULLIVAN  
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TEHRAN 003

CHARGE: STATE 1-7-  
APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS  
IRFTD: POL:JDSTEMPEL  
CLEAR: POL:GBLAMBR  
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TEHRAN 00367/1

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 TEHRAN 00367

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINS, PINR, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: CLERGY ORGANIZING TO HELP STABILIZE PUBLIC ORDER

SUMMARY: DR. NASSER MINATCHI TOLD EMBOFF MORNING JAN 8  
THAT NUMBER OF HIS SOURCES INDICATE SHAH'S DEPARTURE IS  
IMMINENT. IN VIEW OF THIS, TEHRAN CLERGY HAVE FORMED  
ORGANIZATION TO HELP MAINTAIN ORDER THROUGH TRANSITION  
PERIOD TO NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS. STATEMENT HAS BEEN  
ISSUED CALLING FOR CALM. CONCERN REMAINS OVER MILITARY  
BEHAVIOR. END SUMMARY.

1. DR. NASSER MINATCHI INFORMED POLOFF STEMPEL MORNING  
JAN 8 THAT CLERICAL LEADERS IN TEHRAN HAVE FORMED A NEW  
GROUP WHICH TRANSLATES AS "CLERGY LEADERS ORGANIZATION  
(CLO)". PURPOSE OF GROUP WAS TO HELP MAINTAIN SOCIAL  
ORDER OVER NEXT FEW WEEKS. MINATCHI SAID HIS PARLIAMEN-  
TARY SOURCES SAID NEW GOI WOULD BE PRESENTED TO MAJLES  
AND CONFIRMED JAN 9, THEN TO SENATE AND CONFIRMED JAN 10.  
IT WAS STRONGLY RUMORED THAT THE SHAH WOULD LEAVE THE  
COUNTRY AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING FINAL CONFIRMATION. CLERGY  
WERE TO MEET AFTERNOON JAN 8 TO WORK OUT PLANS TO CONTROL  
EMOTIONAL OUTPOURING WHICH WOULD FOLLOW AND CHANNEL IT CON-  
STRUCTIVELY IF POSSIBLE.

2. EMBOFF STRONGLY SUPPORTED IDEA, AND NOTED THAT IN EVENT  
OF SHAH'S DEPARTURE, MILITARY WILL BE VERY EDGY AND BE-  
HAVIOR IN FIRST HOURS AND DAYS WILL BE CRITICAL. MINATCHI  
SAID HE COULDN'T AGREE MORE, AND COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) WOULD ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE  
ALL ITS FOLLOWERS FOR THIS PURPOSE. EMBOFF STRESSED  
AVOIDANCE OF PROVOCATION WHICH WOULD TRIGGER MILITARY  
BACKLASH SUCH AS OCCURRED IN QAZVIN AND MASHAD. MINATCHI  
SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEM VERY WELL.

3. CLERGY WAS ESPECIALLY KEY GROUP, AND CLO WOULD BE MAIN  
VEHICLE, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI. LEADER WAS HOJATOLLAH  
SEYED MOHAMMAD BEHESHTI (KNOWN TO EMBASSY AS KEY KHOMEINI  
LEADER), WITH FOLLOWING OTHER CLERICS AS SENIOR FIGURES:  
HOJATOLLAHS RAFSANJANI, ABDOLKARIM MOUSSAVI ARDEBILI, AND  
MOHAMMAD MOFATEH. THEY WERE HOPING TO WORK OUT PLANS  
JAN 8, THEN BE READY TO MEET WITH AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI,  
WHO WAS EXPECTED IN TEHRAN EVENING JAN 9 OR JAN 10 WITH  
LATEST SUBTLETIES OF KHOMEINI POSITION.

4. STATEMENT ISSUED IN TEHRAN BY AYATOLLAH TALEQANI  
JAN 8 WAS ALSO SIGNED BY CLO LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS "COM  
TRIANGLE" OF SENIOR AYATOLLAHS. IT CALLED ON PEOPLE TO  
REMAIN CALM, AVOID INTERFERING WITH SECURITY FORCES,  
AND CEASE THREATS AND ATTACKS ON FOREIGNERS. NOTICE

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WAS PUBLISHED EXTENSIVELY IN PERSIAN PRESS JAN 8, AND WILL APPEAR IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS JAN 9. MINATCHI SAID BASIC CLO AND CHERF LINE IS THAT WHEN SHAH DEPARTS, PEOPLE MUST PROVE THEY ARE DISCIPLINED AND PEACEFUL. MINATCHI HIMSELF IS NOT VERY CONCERNED ABOUT DISORDERLY MOBS, BUT CONCEDES THERE MAY BE PEOPLE ON THE STREETS STIRRING UP TROUBLE. IF SO, RELIGIOUS LEADERS HOPE TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THEM NON-VIOLENTLY AS WAS DONE DURING TESUA AND ASHURA MARCHES DEC 10-11. (COMMENT: EMBASSY IS NOT RPT NOT AS OPTIMISTIC THAT MOBS CAN BE SO EASILY CONTROLLED. HOWEVER, EMBOFF WISHED HIM MUCH LUCK IN EFFORT.)

5. MINATCHI EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IF SECURITY SITUATION DETERIORATED, BUT SAID EFFORTS OF MODERATE OPPOSITION ARE BEING AIMED AT SEEING THIS DOES NOT OCCUR. WHEN EMBOFF ALLUDED TO STORY THAT GEN. JAM HAD RESIGNED HIS POST AS MINISTER OF WAR, MINATCHI SEEMED TROUBLED FOR A MOMENT (HE HAD NO INFORMATION ON MATTER), BUT SAID THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER GENERALS WHO COULD FILL THE BILL, "AND THE PRIME MINISTER KNOWS THEM ALL. HE SPECIFICALLY CITED GENERALS NASS-ROLAHI, BATMANGELIDJ, REZVANI, AND AGHAVI. MINATCHI PERSONALLY THOUGHT NASSROLAHI WOULD BE BEST CHOICE TO REPLACE JAM, BUT ANY OF ABOVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

6. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR AND ENCOURAGING THAT MINATCHI AND MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS ARE GIVING CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT TO POSSIBLE TRANSITION PROBLEMS. WHILE MINATCHI SAYS SHAH MUST EVENTUALLY GO FOR GOOD, MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS ARE NOT DISPOSED TO PUSH THE ISSUE NOW. SHAH'S DEPARTURE ON VACATION OR FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. HE THOUGHT BAZARGAN GROUP (LIBERATION MOVEMENT) WOULD EVENTUALLY SEE IT THAT WAY AS REALITY OF SITUATION EVOLVED. EVEN EXCLUDING BAZARGAN FOR MOMENT (HE IS STILL IN SHIRAZ, BUT RETURNING TO TEHRAN EVENING JAN 8), SIZABLE SEGMENT OF OPPOSITION APPEARS COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL TRANSITION IF SHAH DEPARTS. MINATCHI HAD NO RPT NO CLUES AS TO WHO MIGHT BE NAMED TO REGENCY

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7. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED NEXT MAJLES SESSION POSTPONED TO JANUARY 11, AND SENATE SESSION TO JANUARY 13. NOW THIS DELAY WILL AFFECT OPPOSITION CALCULATIONS, AND ACTIVITY, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. SULLIVAN  
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